

THE ANGLO-NORMAN VEGETIUS

A Thirteenth Century Translation of the
"De Re Militari" of Flavius Vegetius Renatus

Edited,
with Introduction, Notes, and Glossary, by

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Edited by

L.K. Carley, B.A.

SYNOPSIS

The thesis is divided into three main sections : i) Introduction ii) Text iii) Critical Notes and Glossary.

The frontispiece shows the title page of the Anglo-Norman MS translation of Vegetius' De re militari.

i) Introduction : In the opening two chapters, the historical setting of the translation is examined. First, the background to the writing in the fourth century of the original Latin text is established, and an outline is given of the substance of the text; then a study is made of the Vegetian tradition in France from the later years of the thirteenth century to the present day. The manuscript, its date and its authorship are discussed in Chapters 3 and 4. Then the value of the French text as a translation is discussed. The sixth and longest chapter examines the language of the translation, noting points of divergence from Continental French which generally fit into the pattern of Anglo-Norman usage. A short chapter is given over to outlining the plan followed in establishing the text of this edition. The Notes to the Introduction conclude this part of the thesis.

ii) Text : The text is basically that of Add.MS.1. of the Marlay Collection of the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. This is a unique manuscript. Corrections and emendations, which have been kept to a bare minimum, are shown in the footnotes.

iii) Critical Notes and Glossary : The Critical Notes are designed to amplify and clarify the text. Extensive reference is made to the Latin original, and many difficult or obscure passages are translated into English.

The Notes are followed by a Select Glossary and an Index of Proper Names.

Two appendices list the various manuscripts of the mediaeval French translations of Vegetius, together with certain additional Latin manuscripts of the De re militari.

The volume ends with a list of the principal works consulted in the preparation of this thesis.

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MILITARI DE LATINO M. GAL
LICO DE MONITORIA TRANSITIONE
LIBER PRIMUS INCIPIT

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Finally, I am indebted to my sister, Mrs. Joan Pallister, for her assistance with the typing of this thesis.

L.K.C.

The Frontispiece is reproduced by kind permission of the Syndics of the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

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PART I

INTRODUCTION

1. THE 'DE RE MILITARI' OF VEGETIUS

The De re militari, or Epitoma rei militaris, of Flavius Vegetius Renatus was written and compiled towards the close of the fourth century. Dedicated to the reigning Emperor, the work is a military treatise describing the training, organization, tactics and strategy of the Roman army. Its author was conscious of the comparative decadence of the army of his own day and constantly cites as an ideal for his contemporaries the Roman war machine of an earlier period. What were the causes of the functional decay of this machine, a decay which Vegetius suggests might yet be arrested? The following brief historical examination of the Roman army will perhaps help to make the picture clearer.¹⁾

Historical
background

The Roman army at various stages of its evolution has justly been regarded as one of the finest and most effective fighting forces in the history of mankind. It grew in size and strength proportionately to the empire it created and, as might be expected, the decline of that empire was synonymous with the decline in effectiveness of its army. Under Trajan, when Rome in the early years of the second century reached its greatest territorial extent, the legions were at their greatest numerical strength since Actium (31 B.C.) and the merging of the two rival armies of Antony and the conquering Octavian.

In contrast, by the close of the fourth century, when Vegetius was writing his treatise, the army had been seriously weakened by a long succession of internal disputes and perhaps more so by its absorption of considerable foreign elements whose loyalty to the Emperor was often suspect. The disaster of Adrianople in 378 may be considered as one crisis of a wasting disease whose warning symptoms were already clear to many and to which the fall of Rome and the Western Empire a century later may be ascribed.

It was Octavian (or Augustus) who, after the battle of Actium, laid the foundations of that 'ideal' army to which Vegetius so often refers. His defeat of Antony left him with two large and unwieldy armies - Roman armies - which had to be welded into one effective, reorganized force. The reforms he undertook were sweeping. He cut down numbers by half; he saw to the proper establishment of rates of pay and length of service; he developed his auxiliary forces. With peacetime conscription virtually abolished, the army became a regular institution whose strength lay in its large and highly-trained body of professional soldiers, and whose first responsibility was to its commander-in-chief, the reigning Emperor. Strong emperors in the mould of Augustus were to evoke a fierce loyalty from their legions, but under weak rule from Rome the army was later apt to create its own leaders and proclaim its own emperors.

The reforms of Augustus were on the whole thorough and

beneficial, yet there were weaknesses which are perhaps more apparent to us now than they were to Augustus himself nearly two thousand years ago. For one thing the army lacked a strong central reserve which could have served to reinforce hard-pressed legions at any particular trouble-spot along the frontiers. Allied to this, although the decision of Augustus, after Actium, to halve the strength of his armies may have been considered necessary from a political and economical standpoint, the drastic reduction in manpower must evidently have lessened his chances of adequately and successfully manning the frontiers of an expanding empire.

Even so, the Augustan army would have appeared to Vegetius - some four centuries later - a model well worthy of imitation. Training remained constant in peacetime; the men were regularly drilled, underwent route-marches, and exercised with various weapons. They were well-conditioned, and prepared to meet such calls as might be made upon them in emergencies.

Under Tiberius and, later, Claudius, that is to say until half-way through the first century, the army continued to prosper. Isolated mutinies which arose and which partially succeeded in obtaining a relaxing of the severe discipline had little effect upon the army's fighting quality. These mutinies were also successful in procuring a reduction in the length of service and a rise in the rates of pay.

During the second half of the first century the army assumed a more or less defensive role. Its tasks were largely

to police the frontiers and to put down internal disturbances, and it was not until Trajan came to power in 98 that it was again employed as the principal instrument of a policy of expansion which was to push the frontiers of the Empire to their furthest limits. New provinces were won and brilliant campaigns through the Near East gilded the reputation of the army and its vigorous commander. A new spirit was imparted to the Imperial legions as a result of energetic and positive leadership, for Trajan ruled from strength and enjoyed the confidence of his men. However, this policy of expansion was straining his resources to the utmost, and it was indeed fortunate that he had a successor of the calibre of Hadrian. The latter judiciously abandoned Trajan's newly-won Eastern provinces and then set himself to maintain the imperial status quo, to consolidate the Empire rather than to augment it. His relationship with his troops was an intimate one, his contacts with them frequent. Discipline and morale were good and the securing of the peace enabled him to set his men to civil projects.

The successive reigns of Trajan and Hadrian covered a period of forty years. Rather more than forty years were to pass before the accession of Commodus in 180, and perhaps this date may be taken as marking the beginning of the serious decline of the Roman army; for the rule of Commodus was corrupt, and the corruption spread ~~downwards~~ and through his armies resulting in civil wars on his death. Septimius Severus accel-

erated the army's decline by granting his troops many of the comforts of civilian life, considerably increasing their pay and relaxing the discipline which had ennobled the Augustan legions. The army, spoilt and ever-ready for gain, more than ever realised its own power and was now prepared to exert it.

For a large part of the third century emperors were made and overthrown almost at will by the army. The reigning Emperor had to indulge his troops if he wished to remain safely in power, and mutinies were commonplace. At the same time the influence of the Senate had sadly declined. The outcome of all this was military anarchy. The nominal rulers of the Empire had now necessarily to listen to the voice of the army, an army questing for power, split by its own quarrels and undermined by the inclusion of ever-growing numbers of barbarian forces.

During the second part of the century Claudius II, Aurelian, Probus and Carus all took steps to check the corruption which had spread throughout the ranks and to restore to the army something of its lost vigour. Frontiers were gradually restored and lost provinces re-won. The army learnt once more to obey its generals, and by the close of the century under the firm leadership of Diocletian it had regained something of its former prestige. Once again reforms were undertaken. Re-asserting the supreme authority of the commander-in-chief, Diocletian ensured that the Emperor should no longer be a servant of the army. Smaller forces guarded

the frontiers while, at last, larger central forces were properly established. The service was open to all, but Diocletian, recognizing that voluntary service would not supply his needs, saw to it that some form of conscription kept the army up to strength.

With the unfolding of the fourth century the barbarian threat to Rome grew ever greater. The Persians breached the eastern frontier; first the Goths, then the Huns threatened the northern borders; civil wars recurred in Gaul, draining Imperial resources of manpower. Emperors such as Julian II and Valentinian I attempted bravely to stem the tide but met with short success.

The crisis was reached in 378, after vast numbers of Goths had been admitted into the Empire as federates. Underprivileged and without supplies from Rome, they revolted and crushed Valens' army of the East at the disastrous battle of Adrianople. Henceforward, the Imperial forces, more barbarian than Roman, were gradually to retreat from western frontiers, as province after province was lost during the fifth century. Rome itself was sacked by Alaric in 410; and nearly a hundred years after Adrianople the Empire of the West saw the deposition of its last ruler and the disintegration of the remnants of its army. Only the Eastern Empire was left to survive to the Middle Ages.

Some degree of familiarity with the evolution of the

Roman army during the first four centuries of our era is necessary before a critical appraisal of the De re militari may be attempted. In time, Vegetius' work lies squarely between Adrianople and the fall of the city of Rome to the Goths, two momentous events thirty-two years apart; and historically it fits the pattern of the age. The total disillusionment that must have resulted from the fall of Rome would hardly have been conducive to the subsequent production of a work intended to suggest improvements to an army which was still holding together. Vegetius must have had some firm ground to build on, and he saw that under the leadership of Theodosius, a strong Emperor vigorously campaigning for Christianity, the army might yet be able to regain some of its former glory. The earlier lesson of Adrianople was clear, but barbarian infiltration into the Imperial forces had by now gone too far to permit of changes in the composition of the army. The barbarian element had become predominant and was to remain so.

The text and its sources Broadly speaking, the first book of the De re militari treats of the selection of recruits for the army, of physical training, of exercising with various weapons, of fortifying camps and of marching. The second treats of the organization of the legion, of its various officers, of battle-order; there are a few short pages on legionary accounts, field-music, drill, war-machines and armour. Book III, after dealing briefly with the health and provisions of the legion, treats largely

of tactics and strategy; furthermore the morale of the legion is touched upon, different formations are outlined, and even the wartime uses of camels and elephants are described. The Regulae bellorum generales which conclude Book III are a series of maxims or guiding principles for the army's leading officers to bear in mind. The fourth book deals entirely with siege warfare: with the fortification and defence of places, with various siege-machines and with methods of countering them. The fifth and shortest book deals briefly and inconclusively with naval warfare.²⁾

dw.

Apart from its obvious purpose, that is the setting down of a code by which men might be picked for the service, properly trained, and prepared for all military eventualities, the De re militari had a deeper intent. It was as much a moral call-to-arms as a manual of training and tactics. Vegetius was writing in a period of transition when it was becoming increasingly obvious that Rome must take one of two paths. She might yet perpetuate herself if her armies were reorganized and infused with a new spirit, the sort of spirit which might be produced by firm leadership, discipline and training; or she might, by neglecting her armies, continue along that path of decline upon which she had already taken the first steps. Vegetius was well aware of the need to sound the alarm, to combat the general laxity which had spread through the Imperial forces by his own day. He can scarcely have failed to

acknowledge that the fourth century had failed the Empire, for with the wholesale intake of barbarians into the Imperial armies Rome had come to rely largely on auxiliary troops for the defence of her weakening borders. The sense of loyalty to the state was inevitably weakening and was replaced by the desire for personal gain and a first regard for personal safety. The spirit of the old legions was never to be recaptured, although Vegetius could not see this and hoped that it might be born again.

It will not be an injustice to Vegetius to say that he looked backwards rather than into the future. He sought to re-establish a lost golden age with the tools of the past; to preserve the glory of Rome by reverting to the military methods of the early Empire. His injunctions to discipline and regular training are timeless³⁾, but his advocacy of the heavily-armed and comparatively slow-moving legions of the early Empire is unrealistic. The fact was that the numerically superior barbarian forces threatening the frontiers had evolved considerably faster than had the Roman legions, and could now boast of well-trained and experienced troops. The old legions would have been no match for the Gothic cavalry of the fourth century, whose great advantage lay in power of manoeuvre. In an attempt to offset this advantage the Roman armies had discarded much of their armour for the sake of greater mobility, and more attention was paid to the development of a cavalry arm which might answer the barbarian challenge. History shows

that this increased flexibility in the structure of the Imperial armies failed, ultimately, to prevent the fall of Rome, but at least it probably delayed the end.

Indeed, the charge of conservatism is one which could scarcely have been made against the Roman military system. The army itself was an organism subject to constant changes, whether in the size or numbers of its legions, in pay structure, armour or tactics. The Romans were always ready to learn from their enemies if there were advantages to be gained by doing so. Thus Bourdon de Sigrais, in the Preface to his translation of Vegetius, lists some of the barbarian innovations in military art which the Romans adopted⁴⁾. The Sabines gave them a larger shield, the Samnites, later, better missile weapons, and the Spaniards a new type of sword. The over-tight groupings of the legions were opened out in battle; and the cavalry was developed on the Greek pattern. Thus the process of rejection and replacement is a continuous one, and the term 'Roman army' is seen to be a particularly loose concept when applied indiscriminately to the Imperial forces over a period of centuries. The Roman army as a basic term of reference is therefore of little value unless taken at a given moment. Unfortunately for the historian and commentator the Roman army of Vegetius is by no means a synchronistic concept; at one moment he means the army of the ancients, at another the army at its peak under Trajan or Hadrian, at yet another the comparatively degenerate forces of his own day. For this reason

his text should be treated with caution. Diachronistic in the broadest sense, the De re militari is a cumulative memorial to the labours of some of the greatest military scientists of the five centuries which had gone before. Its main sources are Cato the Censor, Cornelius Celsus, Frontinus, Paternus⁵⁾, all men who earlier described the principles, tactics and feats-of-arms of the Roman army at different stages of its evolution; and then Augustus, Trajan and Hadrian, each in his turn formulating improvements for the service. To these men Vegetius admits a debt, and of course there were probably many more. The important thing is that all of them (except perhaps for Cornelius Celsus) were soldiers, men with hard practical experience of military affairs. Thus Vegetius, the theoretician, was able to make use of good first-hand material for his compilation.

Author Why Vegetius the theoretician? Was not the author of this, "the most influential military treatise in the western world from Roman times to the 19th century"⁶⁾, himself a soldier? Most modern commentators accept that it seems highly unlikely that Vegetius had any practical experience in military matters, although the legend that he did serve in the army persists in some quarters even today⁷⁾. Indeed, of the man himself very little is known. There are no contemporary records which make mention of him, and the text of the De re militari gives us no sure clue to his identity. Comes and vir

inlustris he probably was, according to the title of his work as given by a number of manuscripts. He was certainly a man of some standing; but by the fourth and fifth centuries comes was not a title exclusive to the military - its holder might equally well be a civilian⁸⁾.

The De re militari is the only text that exists to prove that Vegetius was in fact an author. If he wrote any other work it has not been preserved. Perhaps the treatise was his only essay into authorship. At all events he seems to have been fairly well-read, quoting Virgil and Sallust for example, and referring to a variety of figures of literary and historical importance. He has a penchant for suggesting etymologies for certain words, although, strictly speaking, this is quite unnecessary to the body of the work. As we have seen, he was well acquainted with the works of authors of still earlier military texts, often preferring to quote them extensively rather than to paraphrase. Vegetius was not an originator; he was rather a compiler and editor, and the De re militari is really a kind of selective plagiarism, a genre which was to become common enough in the later Middle Ages⁹⁾.

Some have sought to identify the author of the De re militari with the author of a Late Latin veterinary treatise¹⁰⁾. Dr. Christoph Schöner prepares a careful argument to this purpose, concluding that Vegetius, a great land- and livestock-owner, was passionately interested in horses and was, in fact, a veterinary expert of no mean excellence. He probably lived

in the Eastern Empire, perhaps in one of its border territories, such as Pannonia or Illyria, and had travelled considerably¹¹⁾. Schöner's is an isolated opinion, and it is now generally accepted that the two Vegetii are quite distinct from each other.

Date There have similarly been marked differences of opinion over the identity of Vegetius' dedicatee, and subsequently over the date of the writing of the De re militari. It would seem that the work must have been compiled some time between the years 383, when Gratian died (cf. the reference in the text to diuo Gratiano¹²⁾), and 410, when Rome was sacked by the Goths. The argument for the latter date as the terminus ad quem is generally recognized to be a sound one; Vegetius could scarcely have failed to mention so significant an event had he written his work after the fall of Rome.

Some manuscripts are dedicated to Valentinian, others to Theodosius. Of the three Valentinians proposed by earlier commentators Valentinian I, who died in 375, preceded Gratian and is therefore now seen to have no claim to the title of dedicatee. Valentinian III, succeeding to the Western Empire in 424, is almost certainly too late. There remains Valentinian II, who reigned from 375-92; and then Theodosius I, who reigned from 379-95. Theodosius outshone Valentinian; he was indisputably the greater soldier, with notable victories to his credit. This must be borne in mind when reading the

Preface to the second book of Vegetius, where the author heaps praise upon a nameless Emperor, referring to his "victories and triumphs" and "recent feats which even surpass those of antiquity itself". Even allowing for that conventional tone of flattery, with its attendant exaggerations, which often pervades such dedicatory passages, it must be admitted that Theodosius is most probably the Emperor in question.

This, then, would place the date of the composition of the De re militari somewhere between the death of Gratian and the death of Theodosius, that is to say between the years 383 and 395. Furthermore, since Vegetius nowhere mentions two emperors, but apparently sings the praises of one "lord and master of the world", the logical conclusion is that he wrote his work during the last three years of the reign of Theodosius when that Emperor alone ruled the Western Empire.

2. THE FRENCH VERSIONS OF THE 'DE RE MILITARI'


Latin, says Jean de Vignai, in the Prologue to his own version of the De re militari, "n'est pas communement entendu de chevaliers"¹³⁾. Herein lies the clue to the phenomenon of at least five different French translations in the latter half of the thirteenth century of a Late Latin military treatise.

Even the most enlightened military leaders of our own age might be pardoned for lacking the inclination to learn an alien language, simply in order to read a mediaeval Art of War. The modern conception of warfare, on a scale of total destruction and involving the entire earth as a battlefield, was scarcely imagined a thousand years ago; thus military tacticians of the second half of the twentieth century are likely to find little material benefit in studying tenth century tactics. However, the situation in France in the latter years of the thirteenth century was very different, for then the De re militari of Vegetius was the only work preserved from antiquity which could make any claim to represent a reasonably comprehensive course in military science. Furthermore a large part of the treatise could still apply to mediaeval conditions of warfare and to the preliminary training undergone by recruits. In its Latin context it could reach comparatively few of the people it should most benefit. It was, therefore, the task of scholars to make it more readily accessible to men

engaged in the profession of arms; and France produced a considerable number of such scholar-translators during the later Middle Ages.

The De re militari of Vegetius enjoyed exceptional favour in many of the countries of Western Europe throughout the Middle Ages. Some 150 Latin manuscripts are known to us¹⁴⁾ and many translations were made. The five extant French versions dating from this period are preserved in no less than 30 manuscripts¹⁵⁾. Furthermore, selected extracts from Vegetius, together with odd ~~MS.~~ fragments, are today to be found in many of the libraries of Europe. The late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries see interest in the text maintained, with the publication of a large number of Latin editions and new translations.

Although the present chapter deals primarily with the early French translations of Vegetius, it must necessarily look beyond the Middle Ages and outside France. There cannot be a clean break at any single point. The line of development, although uneven, is continuous; thus new translations into French are still being published in the middle of the nineteenth century, and the recent bringing to light, in England, of an Anglo-Norman version brings a new date and a new idiom to the history of a long-celebrated work.

The earliest piece of tangible evidence in the history of the De re militari is a manuscript fragment from 

us by the seventh century¹⁶⁾; but it is not until the tenth century that a firm foothold in history is secured, although occasional references to the text have appeared before. In the year 837, for example, a Vegetius is mentioned in the will of the count Everard de Fréjus¹⁷⁾. From the beginning of the tenth century to the beginning of the thirteenth century at least a score of manuscripts are known to us¹⁸⁾.

It is in the thirteenth century that the field really begins to widen. At least fifteen Latin manuscripts date from this period, and in the latter half of the century the text is translated into French and Italian. The Fitzwilliam Vegetius, probably copied about 1272, seems to be the earliest extant translation of the Latin original. At the same time, however, the title-page hints at an even earlier translation into French. The title itself, on fol. 3r., runs : VEGETII PHILOSOFI DE RE MILITARI DE LATINO IN GALLICUM DE NOVO TRANSLATUS. The logical implication in de novo is that another translation of the De re militari had already been made.

The case for an earlier Anglo-Norman translation is a strong one. In England two centuries had passed since the establishment of Norman rule. The aristocracy, which had settled down after a long period of upheaval and unrest, had its roots in a warrior race of Normans, renowned throughout Christendom for great prowess in arms. To England they imported a rule of discipline which characterized the period. The literature which flourished in Anglo-Norman England in the twelfth and

thirteenth centuries was, therefore, largely moralizing and didactic in tone. However, towards the end of the thirteenth century (that is, roughly about the time when our scribe was copying his text) came the rebirth of English literature, and Anglo-Norman writing, although continuing quite strongly through the fourteenth century, began its gradual decline¹⁹⁾. Thus the Fitzwilliam Vegetius stands at the crossroads. If, indeed, it was the first Anglo-Norman version of the text, it came late in a period which might have valued its precepts and guidance considerably earlier on. The Normans were fine warriors, with a long-standing record of successes in Mediterranean campaigns. What could have been more natural for an "English" Norman than to study the finer points of military science? Jean de Vignai has suggested that great generals are not always men of letters; and for this reason the De re militari in Anglo-Norman England would have had to be translated into French, the language of the ruling classes.

That there was an earlier French version of Vegetius there can be no doubt. Furthermore, as I suggest in a later chapter, it seems probable that this translation, like its successor, was also made by a speaker of the Anglo-Norman dialect of Old French. Perhaps there was a still earlier version. After all, the text had had some currency in Latin manuscripts for a considerable time.

The scribe of the Fitzwilliam Vegetius, judging by his language, had almost certainly been born and bred in England.

In the course of his duties he may have come upon and read an earlier translation of Vegetius. He certainly had an earlier version at hand when engaged upon the actual copying of his manuscript. None of the continental translations made during the Middle Ages, to my knowledge, hints at the existence of a French Vegetius prior to that of Jean de Meung. The Anglo-Norman text alone affirms that the work is de novo translatus. This may be taken as further evidence for the theory that the earlier translation was in fact made in England.

The second extant translation of Vegetius is made in 1284. The date and authorship of the text is revealed at the end :

"Ci fine le livre de Vegece de l'Art de chevalerie, que nobles princes Jehan, conte d'Eu, fist translater de latin en françois par maistre Jehan de Meun, en l'an de l'incarnacion Nostre Seigneur mil cc quatre vint et quatre."²⁰⁾

Jean de Meung's work was the most popular of all the French translations made in the Middle Ages, but it is now clear that he was not the first translator of Vegetius, as Ulysse Robert imagined him to be. To the seventeen manuscripts of his work known to Paul Meyer²¹⁾ I add another two : i) MS. 344 of the Musée Condé, dating from the fifteenth century, and ii) MS. Royal 20.B.xi., of the British Museum. This manuscript is entitled Virgesses, les Establissemenz de Chevalerie and was copied in the early years of the fourteenth century; three chapters at the end are missing²²⁾.

About 1290, only a few years after Jean de Meung had completed his work, Jean Priorat, of Besançon, produced a rhymed version of that same translation, which he called Li Abréjance de l'ordre de chevalerie²³⁾. That this version met with only a limited success when compared with that enjoyed by the source from which it is drawn is clearly attested by the fact that one manuscript alone of the poem is conserved²⁴⁾.

The earliest manuscript of yet another French translation dates in all probability from the closing years of the thirteenth century²⁵⁾. This is a somewhat pedestrian translation by Jean de Vignai, which achieved some measure of success; seven manuscripts of his Vegetius are preserved to us, against the nineteen of Jean de Meung.

Largely speaking, the translations of Jean de Meung and Jean de Vignai remained the accepted, standard versions of the De re militari in mediaeval France. They were still being copied in the fifteenth century. However, one more translation appears in 1380. It begins :

"Ci commence le livre de l'art de chevalerie, fait de hault homme et noble jadis, Flave Vegesce du René, conte. Et contient ce present traictié quatre livres; lequel fut translaté de latin en françois, l'an de grace mil trois cens quatre vins."

The name of the translator is not given. Jules Camus²⁶⁾ suggests that it may be the work of Eustache Deschamps, but Paul Meyer doubts this²⁷⁾. Only two manuscripts have been preserved.

Not only was the De re militari simply translated. It was also adapted and rewritten by some writers, or regarded as a useful source and thus extensively quoted by others. This trend becomes evident towards the close of the Middle Ages and may be interpreted as a reaction against those faithful but uncritical translations which standardized Vegetius in a period when it was becoming increasingly obvious that parts of the treatise were so antiquated as no longer to apply to contemporary conditions of warfare. Of course, none of the early translations is so faithful as never to stray from the letter of the original. Jean de Meung is freer than most, and Jean Priorat, by the form he adopts and the source he draws from, will differ even more. Even the earliest known translator sees fit to omit "ascunes choses ki ne funt mie grant mester de escriivre" from his Anglo-Norman version. Yet all can profess to be no more than renderings of one great original. Now comes the period of remaniement. Vegetius remains the fount of military wisdom, but times are changing and other writers must, too, be consulted; so that about the year 1384, when Honoré Bonet produces his Arbre des batailles, Vegetius is simply one of a number of sources drawn upon. Some twenty years later, Christine de Pisan composes her Livre des faits d'armes et de chevalerie. Christine's dependence on Vegetius is illustrated, in 1488, by the title which the printer Vérard confers upon her work when he publishes it as L'art de chevalerie selon

Vegece. In this edition, as in that of 1527, the name of the authoress is not even mentioned.

One particular passage, from Book I, Chapter 6 of the De re militari, will suffice to exemplify the dependence of later authors on certain parts of the work :

"Sit ergo adulescens Martio operi deputandus uigilantibus oculis, erecta ceruice, lato pectore, umeris musculosis, ualentibus brachiis, digitis longioribus, uentre modicus, exilior clunibus, suris et pedibus non superflua carne distentis sed neruorum duritia collectis."

Christine de Pisan requires of her new recruits

"les yeulx esveillés et legier esperit, la teste droicte, les piez larges, grosses espaulles et de bon tour; les bras longs, gros et bien façonnez, et mains ossues, petit ventre et rains bien tournez, grosses cuisses; jambes droictes bien taillees, seiches et menues, larges piez et drois."²⁸⁾

In 1549, Guillaume du Bellay, Seigneur de Langey, clearly draws from the same passage, the qualities he considers necessary being

"les yeuls vifs et esveilleez, la teste droicte, l'estomach eslevé, les espaulles larges, les bras longs, les doigts fors, le ventre petit, les cuisses grosses, les jambes gresles, & les pieds secs."²⁹⁾

A further interesting development in the study of Vegetius

in the fifteenth century is the recording of a series of extracts from his work. This "pocket" Vegetius seems to have been taken mainly from Book I of the original and from the Regulae bellorum generales which conclude Book III. It takes the form of an appendix to the translation of the Stratagematicon of Frontinus by Jean de Rovroy, who dedicated his work to Charles VII. Charles was King of France from 1422 to 1461. There are, to my knowledge, four manuscripts of this work : Bibl. Nat. MSS. 1234 and 1235, Arsenal MS. 2693, and Brit. Mus., Add. MS. 12028.

The British Museum copy runs from fol. 173r. to fol. 185v. It begins :

"S'ensuivent aucunes notables extraictz du livre de Vegece
qu'il fist pour l'enseignement des princes et des gentilsz
hommes en la science des armes et de chevalerie."

The relationship between this manuscript and those in the Bibliothèque Nationale may be shown by comparing the opening words of each text :

"Il n'est nul a qui il appartienne miex de sçavoir le
bien" (MS. Bibl. Nat. 1234)

"Il n'est nul a qui il n'appartiengne mieulx de sçavoir
le bien" (MS. Bibl. Nat. 1235)

"Il n'est nul a qui il apartiengne mieulx de sçavoir le
bien" (Brit. Mus., Add. MS. 12028).

Of the two Bibl. Nat. manuscripts, 1234 is incomplete, whereas 1235 ends :

"...contre ceulx qui devisent(?) avoir eu la victoire."

and the British Museum manuscript ends :

"...contre ceulx qui deussent avoir eu la victoire."

That the translation itself is faithful to the original may be shown by the following transcription which I have made from fol. 174r. of the London manuscript, which should be compared with the passage quoted above on page 22.

"il doibt avoir ungs yeulx esveillés, une chere haulte, une large poytrine, unes espaules bien nouees, un bras fors et delivres, ungs doigts longs en ses mains, ung petit ventre, unes cuisses façonnees, les souris de ses jambes et les piés legers, et ne doibt mie estre fort chargé de char mays bien noué de nerfs."

Rovroy's "notables extraitz" are again symptomatic of the trend towards bringing Vegetius up-to-date; but his is a far more drastic revision than that, for example, of Christine de Pisan. He quite simply reduces Vegetius to a series of basic principles which are capable of standing the test of time. To some this may seem an unfortunate step to have taken, seeing that the author of the De re militari himself acknowledges the fact that his work is only an abridged version of earlier military writings. Indeed, many of these earlier works are soon forgotten for the sake of the useful, but abbreviated compendium which the treatise of Vegetius so conveniently represents. Now something of the same nature is happening to Vegetius himself in the fifteenth century, and he is summarily

tailored down to a dozen or so folios of useful maxims which serve as a quasi-appendix to the French Stratagèmes of Frontinus. The De re militari has travelled a long way from its original sources.

Another independent extract from Vegetius is bequeathed to us by fifteenth-century France. It is contained in a manuscript of the Bibliothèque Nationale, among works by Jean de Meung, Christine de Pisan and others, and begins :

"Lez Regles dou gouvernement dez baitelles, astraictes dou livre de Vegece de l'Art de chevalerie. Et sont premierement en latin et en roment transelatees."³⁰⁾

Earlier still is a Végèce, art militaire, "fragments des livres III et IV, traduits en français."³¹⁾ This is contained in the 39 folios of a fourteenth-century manuscript in the Bibliothèque de Rouen.

Other writers bear witness to the reputation enjoyed by the De re militari in mediaeval France. Its author is described in the Fitzwilliam Vegetius as "le philosophe de Rome"(3,5). In Le Roman des Deduis, written in the second half of the fourteenth century, Gace de la Buigne approves of the contention of Vegetius that huntsmen make good soldiers³²⁾. Honoré Bonet refers to Vegetius as "ly grans maistres d'armes"³³⁾. Christine de Pisan's military treatise has already been mentioned, but she also refers to Vegetius elsewhere in her works³⁴⁾. In the later Middle Ages both Alain Chartier³⁵⁾ and Jean Molinet³⁶⁾

were familiar with the text, and François Villon shows that he is acquainted with Vegetius in the very first stanza of his Petit Testament³⁷⁾.

As late as the eighteenth century a noted student of military science, the Chevalier de Folard, translated parts of the De re militari. Among his papers, for example, is to be found a complete translation of Book I³⁸⁾.

Not until 1536 is a faithful printed translation of Vegetius into French recorded. This was published in Paris by C. Wechel, and the translation is by Nicole Wolkyr³⁹⁾. The book contains many illustrations depicting various machines of war. Two identical woodcuts show a bearded figure in mediaeval armour and carry the title VEGETIUS DE RE MILITARI. Wolkyr's work is apparently the only new translation of Vegetius in sixteenth-century France; which is perhaps rather surprising when the spate of Latin editions during the same period is taken into consideration. The seventeenth century is similarly unproductive, again showing only one new version. We do not know whose work it is, but the edition was published at the expense of Jean Jaques de Wallhausen "pour le bien & instruction des Tyrons & Novices".⁴⁰⁾

The first of the modern editions dates from 1743. This is the Institutions militaires of Bourdon de Sigrais, and it includes his own "Remarques". Johann Theobald Bion considers this to be an excellent piece of work⁴¹⁾ and uses it a little

later as the basis for his own translation into German. Other editions of Sigrais follow.

In 1772 the Chevalier de Bongars publishes in Paris a Traduction de Végèce, avec des réflexions militaires. His commentaries are often more copious than the chapter to which they refer, but are generally erudite and appropriate. Yet another annotated translation, by Turpin de Crissé (and apparently modelled on Sigrais), first appears in 1775⁴²).

The mid-nineteenth century, which heralds a scholarly revival of interest in Vegetius on all sides, sees revised versions of Turpin de Crissé and the Chevalier de Bongars, printed respectively in the series Bibliothèque historique et militaire (1850) and Collection des auteurs latins (1851). These are soon followed, in 1859, by another translation, this time the work of Develay⁴³).

Finally, some six hundred years after their first appearance in manuscript form, the labours of Jean de Meung and Jean Priorat are at last rewarded by the publication of M. Ulysse Robert's two editions of 1897⁴⁴).

As the second half of the fifteenth century begins, there appears to set in, in France at least, a long period of gradual decline of interest in Vegetius. Christine's work is indeed printed by Vérard in 1488, and subsequently reprinted; and, of course, du Bellay is engaged in bringing up to date the military writings of the ancients. But nearly three centuries have passed by the time Bourdon de Sigrais, in 1743,

takes upon himself the task of producing a new French translation.

The decline of Vegetius in sixteenth and seventeenth century France must largely be due to the rise of new literary movements. The age of chivalry has ended. Renaissance scholars turn their attention to the belles-lettres of antiquity rather than to the comparative drabness of a Late Latin manual of military tactics. Corneille produces Le Cid in 1636, Molière writes Les Précieuses Ridicules in 1659, and the first performance of Racine's Andromaque takes place in 1667. The Classical school is followed by a new generation of philosophers : La Bruyère, Bayle, Fénelon, Montesquieu and Voltaire. These were the men France was producing between 1616, the date of Wallhausen's edition, and 1743, when Bourdon de Sigrais again takes up the threads of Vegetius. With the literary world in ferment, Vegetius steps back into the half-shadows. The manuscripts of his early translators slowly gather the dust; scattered far and wide through the libraries of Europe they are forgotten, a fact so clearly reflected by the belief of Bourdon de Sigrais that the De re militari had only twice before been translated :

"Il y a eu deux traductions françoises de Végèce; la première en 1536, l'autre en 1616."⁴⁵⁾

Modern research was soon to prove him wrong; but his assertion is at least indicative of Vegetius' standing in France towards the middle of the eighteenth century. The De re militari was

virtually unknown, except, possibly, to the Latinist and to the educated military scientist. Only four centuries earlier it had been almost a byword wherever military matters were discussed⁴⁶⁾.

The publication of the Institutions militaires of Bourdon de Sigrais in 1743 represents a turning-point in the history of the text. The approach to the study of Vegetius has changed. Even in 1616 the De la milice romaine was printed in its own right, that is to say that it was still intended to serve as a practical guide to military affairs, and could in fact be used as such. However, with the development of firearms, and more notably of new techniques, perfected by Gustav Adolf of Sweden, in the use of these weapons, the pattern of war undergoes yet another transformation towards the middle of the seventeenth century. New chapters of Vegetius retreat from actuality and are left a subject for the antiquarian eye. Bourdon de Sigrais a century later affirms that the treatise can still teach much to his contemporaries-in-arms; but in writing his own commentaries on the text and in delving into the background from which the author and his work emerged, he is ushering in a new school of French scholars - classical historians, military scientists, and finally linguists - who are to examine the text from specialist viewpoints and who will criticize it.

Wallhausen's translator writes a lengthy preface to his edition, but he is completely uncritical and hallows the memory of Vegetius in a flowered and flattering prose. Hence

such gems as

"...les escripts de Vegece ressemblent un vaisseau, duquel on ne puise pas seulement du vin pur, doux & amiable : mais aussi une douceur qui se surpasse soy mesme, moyennant qu'on l'ouvre de la vraye clef, ou rencontre le robinet propre. Et fault sçavoir qu'en ce vase il n'y a pas un robinet de bois & commun, dont chascun se peult servir : mais il y a un de laton avec une clef, laquelle estant ostée, on n'en peult tirer aucune liqueur. Or ceste clef a esté perdue plusieurs années, & n'estant usée, s'est du tout enrrouillée."⁴⁷⁾

In 1743 Sigrais flatters too, but much more important, from the point of view of criticism, is his reflection on the style of Vegetius :

"Tout concis qu'il est, il se répète; & l'on voit revenir si souvent les mêmes maximes sur la nécessité des exercices militaires, qu'on en seroit rebuté si on ne faisoit attention qu'elles sont la base de la réforme qu'il propose à Valentinien."⁴⁸⁾

It must be admitted that as far back as 1559, the anonymous author of an Institution de la discipline militaire⁴⁹⁾ does offer a criticism of Vegetius; but what I wish to show here is that a progressive critical school does not come into being in France until the middle of the eighteenth century. For Sigrais is soon followed by the Chevalier de Bongars and Turpin de Crissé; and commentaries on Vegetius and on other military

writers are, for example, produced by the Chevalier de Folard, the Maréchal de Puységur⁵⁰⁾ and, in 1782, by Warnéry⁵¹⁾.

However, the impetus does not remain with France. True, Turpin de Crissé and the Chevalier de Bongars are reprinted in the middle of the nineteenth century, Paul Meyer and Jules Camus later publish their learned articles in Romania, and 1897 sees Robert's critical editions of Jean de Meung and Jean Priorat; but it is Germany which produces a line of characteristically thorough and scholarly critics, men who are more especially concerned with the Latin Vegetius, with its sources and background, date and language. However, from 1889 to 1891 Max Jähns publishes the three volumes of his Geschichte der Kriegswissenschaften, and he devotes a fairly lengthy chapter to Vegetius, examining not only the text and its precepts, but also the reproductions and translations which were made from the Middle Ages until the nineteenth century. A necessarily sketchy commentary on the French versions of Vegetius is included. This chapter, admittedly incomplete in many aspects, remains the best description to date of the spread of Vegetius since the earliest mediaeval translations of the text.

In the twentieth century studies become in the main even more specialized, and other countries take up the subject. A. Andersson, for example, in Sweden, produces a learned linguistic study of the Latin original⁵²⁾; and as recently as 1944 the first three books of John Clarke's earlier English

translation⁵³⁾ are reprinted, "edited only to the minimum extent", as a Military Classic in the U.S.A.⁵⁴⁾ The editor, Brig. Gen. Thomas Phillips, contributes a ten-page Introduction which astonishes by its racy style and unprincipled plagiarism, the latter generally in the form of lengthy quotations from Charles Oman and others. Both in the Introduction and translation itself the customary footnotes take the form of gratuitous snippets of information inserted in parentheses in the body of the text. Meanwhile, in Germany Dankfried Schenk, for example, has been examining the sources of the De re militari,⁵⁵⁾ and in England the fifteenth century poem Knyghthode and Bataile is published in 1935 by R. Dyboski and Z. Arend for the Early English Text Society. The most recent works dealing with French versions are published in 1952 and 1953, by Cesare Segre (on Jean de Meung)⁵⁶⁾, and by Lewis Thorpe and M. Dominica Legge (on the Fitzwilliam Vegetius)⁵⁷⁾.

It will be appropriate at this point to survey briefly mediaeval Vegetian translations into other languages than French; for if France and Anglo-Norman England are the first countries to translate the De re militari into the vernacular and so afford the text a far wider audience than the Latin original could possibly reach, other countries in Europe also recognize the value of the work and accordingly produce their own versions.

At the end of the thirteenth century appears an Italian

translation by Bono Giamboni. Two further versions, by Tizzone Gaetano di Pofi and Francesco Ferrosi, date from 1524 and 1551⁵⁸⁾.

In Spain a Castilian translation is made, probably after the middle of the fifteenth century, by Fr. Alonso de Cristobal and dedicated to Henry IV of Castile (who died in 1474)⁵⁹⁾.

The first recorded Portuguese translation is probably earlier, for it was written for D. Pedro, Duke of Coimbra and Regent of Reino, who died in 1449⁶⁰⁾.

The earliest known English translation dates from 1408, "the tenthe yere of kynge Herry the fourthe", and is dedicated to Sir Thomas Berkeley⁶¹⁾. The rhymed Knyghthode and Bataile is composed c.1458. Jähns records a translation by Clifton and an incomplete manuscript of yet another version from the same period⁶²⁾. Then in 1572 John Sadler publishes in London his Four Bookes of Flavius Vegetius Renatus⁶³⁾. One more English translation is to appear after this, and that is Clarke's version of 1767⁶⁴⁾.

Ludwig von Hohenwang's Kurcze Red von der Ritterschafft is published in Augsburg in 1475. Three more German editions, modelled on this translation, appear in the sixteenth century.

I have had no success in tracing the mediaeval Bulgarian translation recorded in the Encyclopaedia Britannica (Eleventh Edition included) and subsequently referred to by Phillips in his Introduction. I am tempted to assume that someone, with the German Gothic print of Jähns before his eyes, has inter-

preted the phrase "in die Vulgärsprache" (on page 120 of the Geschichte der Kriegswissenschaften, I) as "in die Bulgar-sprache", a strange error, if this is indeed the case.

The eighteenth century, as in France, sees a general revival of interest in Vegetius. The first of the modern German translations is by Bion, in 1759 (see above), who in fact uses the Sigräis French as his source. Other German translations follow in the nineteenth century. Viana, in 1764, produces a new translation into Spanish⁶⁵). Three years later Clarke's now standard English version appears. Mariotti's new Italian translation, published in 1878⁶⁶), is reprinted and annotated by Maggiorotti in 1938⁶⁷). Phillips' edition of Books I-III of the Clarke translation dates, of course, from 1944.

In this chapter I have attempted to show not only that the De re militari of Vegetius was widely known in mediaeval France, but that its lessons have been attentively studied over the centuries and down to the present day. I have completed my picture by necessarily referring to Anglo-Norman England and the first translation of the text, and by adding a brief survey of Vegetian translations and studies in other countries.

Why should Vegetius have enjoyed such popularity in the Middle Ages? One does not have to search too far for an answer. The De re militari as a course of military science was unique; furthermore, much of what it had to say in the fourth century was still applicable in the fourteenth century. It did not need great mental labour on the part of mediaeval translators to adapt certain basic terms of Vegetius to suit the contemporary spirit of chivalry; so that tirones and milites might become chivalers, and iuniores, jovenes chivalers.

It is not within the scope of this work to discuss in detail the purely military applications of Vegetius during the Middle Ages. Scholars have differed on the degree of importance the work had for the period. Henri Delpech considered Vegetius to have had a direct and far-reaching influence on mediaeval military tactics : "Quant à nous, sans méconnaître le mérite d'assimilation des chefs d'armée du monde féodal, nous sommes aujourd'hui convaincu que le véritable inspirateur de leurs manoeuvres les plus régulières est l'ouvrage intitulé De re militari que composa Flavius Vegetius Renatus, à la fin du IV^e siècle."⁶⁸) He goes on to list the most important direct contributions of Vegetius to mediaeval warfare.

Yet on the other hand we can read of the Middle Ages : "Nor was it an age when elaborate theories of war were practised in the field. Bookish rulers might consult or reproduce in writing the wisdom of Vegetius and other authors of the ancient world, but tradition and physical conditions played a

greater part than ideas in moulding military methods."⁶⁹⁾

On this authority Delpach would, therefore, seem to be a little over-enthusiastic in his claims for the De re militari and somewhat inclined to under-estimate the claims of tradition and indeed of common-sense in the perpetuation of military methods.

The previous chapter has shown that Vegetius lived in the dying years of a great period of western civilization. Less than twenty years after he wrote his treatise the city of Rome was to fall before the Gothic hordes of Alaric. Seen in these conditions, the message behind the work becomes even more evident; it is the plea of one man for a return to discipline, a call-to-arms in a spare prose, denuded of conventional literary ornamentation. The lesson was preached too late. The proud spirit of the Imperial armies had long since disappeared, and the comparatively degenerate corps that remained were powerless to buttress the walls of the Western Empire, in ruins by the end of the fifth century.

Europe plunges into the Dark Ages. The lamp of learning flickers in the monasteries of Ireland, and on the continent is briefly rekindled by Charlemagne at the end of the eighth century; but it is not until the twelfth and thirteenth centuries that a lettered French civilization fully flourishes, and it is this period that sees a virtual rebirth of Vegetius. Chronologically, seven hundred years lie between the beginning

of the fifth century and the beginning of the twelfth century; but where literature is concerned the Middle Ages had in many ways to take over from where the Romans left off. This fact is subtly reflected in the French translations of Vegetius, where Roman tactics are faithfully transcribed for the benefit of mediaeval generals and where terms of chivalry are introduced into a text-book designed for a conventional army.

It has been said that "Végèce est le premier écrivain du moyen âge qui ait traité méthodiquement et avec quelque détail toutes les parties de la guerre."⁷⁰). I would not class Vegetius as belonging essentially to the Middle Ages. The Roman Empire was still a fact when he wrote. He himself was conservative, drawing deeply from the ancients, recommending a return to the old discipline, describing the Roman army of the early Empire as much as that of the close of the fourth century. However, the quotation at least contains an unintentional half-truth; for, in the words of Gaston Paris, "le moyen âge n'a jamais eu conscience de ce qui le distinguait si profondément de l'antiquité"⁷¹); and mediaeval France certainly took Vegetius very much to heart. Even the Chevalier de Bongars, several centuries later, stresses the fact that he considers his translation "un petit ouvrage que j'ai cru nécessaire aux jeunes militaires disposés à s'instruire"⁷²).

I do not, however, think that the Middle Ages were quite so conscious of the message behind the De re militari as was Vegetius himself in writing his work. The treatise was taken

at its face value. For the scholarly but uncritical translators of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries more or less every word was sacrosanct. Vegetius' text, based upon the writings of antiquity, is held in reverence, regarded as a model worthy of the attention of even the rawest aspirant to arms. Of course, it was some time before this approach was modified, when men saw fit to admit, among other things, that elephants and camels were not now so commonly used in European warfare, and that some pruning of the text would not hinder its more general application to contemporary conditions. Thus Jean de Rovroy produces a selective series of extracts from the original, and Christine de Pisan includes a discussion on the use of guns and gunpowder. In this way the later Middle Ages are clearly becoming conscious of the ever-widening gulf between the new Paris and ancient Rome. France is an ascendant star in the civilization of the west; and it may be asserted that in 1284 neither Jean de Meung nor his patron Jean, comte d'Eu, regarded the translation of the De re militari as a desperate appeal to combat similar manifestations of decadence such as Vegetius would have noticed at the time of compiling his work.

It has been maintained that the climax of active interest in Vegetius by students of military science is in the late thirteenth century, with another new rise in the sixteenth century; since then interest has been decreasing⁷³⁾. This is

not strictly true. The late thirteenth century does indeed see a real awakening of interest; this is shown by the several French translations of the period. However, from then on until the beginning of the seventeenth century the general picture shows remarkably little falling off of interest in the text. More Latin manuscripts than ever before are preserved from the fourteenth century; over sixty are copied in the fifteenth, and at least eight editions are printed before the century closes. I know of at least ten printed Latin editions from the sixteenth century. This means, obviously enough, that interest in Vegetius is maintained until the early seventeenth century, and only then gradually declines until the "academic" revival of the second half of the eighteenth century.

Over the past hundred years Vegetius has become the province of the scholar. Beyond his first book he has little to offer the armies of today. There are modern manuals for the modern soldier. His own manual of military tactics and training, already partly out of date when he wrote it, but more assuredly obsolescent since the invention of gunpowder, has been rendered virtually obsolete by Hiroshima; and with the development and perfection of new techniques in nuclear and long-range ballistic warfare, Vegetius must be confined, almost irrevocably, to the specialist's study. New editions of the De re militari will, of course, be conscious anachronisms.

3. THE FITZWILLIAM VEGETIUS

Description of Manuscript. The Anglo-Norman Vegetius is contained in Add.MS.I of the Marlay Collection of the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge⁷⁴⁾. The manuscript also contains a Latin copy of the De re militari. It is of vellum and consists of 152 folios, $7\frac{3}{4}$ " by $5\frac{1}{2}$ " (19.5cm. by 14cm.). The number of lines to a page is not constant but is usually from 22 to 25.

The manuscript is bound in old vellum (17th century?) over two pasteboards. Two holes, showing where ties were formerly attached, have been pierced near the outer edge of each cover. At the top of the spine, which has six bands plus headbands, is a title in brown ink : Vegetius / en / Francoys.

There are two fly-leaves of paper and one blank folio of vellum before foliation commences; similarly, one folio of vellum and two paper fly-leaves at the end of the manuscript. The official foliation is : a2, bc12, d10, efg12, h8, i10, klmn12, o14 = 152ff.

Both Latin and French texts are copied in a large, clear Gothic of the latter half of the thirteenth century. The recto and verso of fol.1 are, however, copied in a hand different from that of the remainder of the manuscript. The rubrics are probably the work of a second scribe trained in

the same school. These are in red ink and usually introduce a fresh chapter.

Composition of Manuscript.⁷⁵⁾ On fol.1r. is a list of the chapters of Book I. The top of the first line has been partially cut off, presumably when the volume was bound. Fol.1v. contains a list of the chapters of Book II. Fol.2r. is blank, and fol.2v. is given over to a full-page miniature.

The text of the translation begins on fol.3r., after the title in four rows of capitals, each taking up two normal text-lines, and four lines of incipit in red ink. Book II begins on fol.19r. and ends on fol.36v. An incomplete list of the chapters of Book III begins on fol.36v., and the text is resumed at the foot of fol.37r. Book IV begins on fol. 73r., no chapter list being included, and the translation ends on fol.90r. A half-page miniature is pasted down on fol.86r.

The Latin text begins on fol.91r., fol.90v. being blank. A list of the chapters of Book I is followed by the text itself on fol.91v. A second chapter list begins on fol.101v., Book II following on fol.102r. On fol.114r. is a further chapter list, and Book III begins on fol.114v. Unlike the French text, the Latin contains a list of the chapters of Book IV, occupying the recto and verso of fol.139. Book IV itself begins on fol.140r. and ends on fol.151v. Fol.152r.

is blank.

Eight lines of verse in a contemporary charter-hand are lightly penned at the top of fol.152v. Beneath is a geometrical design penned in brown ink : a double clover-leaf pattern based on two small concentric circles and surrounded by two larger concentric circles. At the foot of the same page is an inscription which has been almost entirely effaced⁷⁶⁾.

Corrections and alterations. There are a number of corrections in both the French and Latin texts. Some of them may be attributed to the scribe himself, while many are in a second hand. Alterations are generally indicated by a straight or broken line beneath the incorrect word or phrase, and the correction is written above the line. Some misspellings are expunctuated, and where necessary a correction has been given either above the line or immediately following the mistake.

The margin is occasionally used for notes or corrections. [a] la fiez is added in the margin of fol.20v., where en demeters in the text is underlined; and in the margin of fol. 24r. are added four words : ordina[i]res (?) opposite the text's ordinaires, aug[us]tles (?) opposite augustales, fflaviales opposite fflaviales, and ymaginarii opposite ymaginaires. Marginal notes are more frequently added in the Latin text and are particularly in evidence in its earlier pages. At the foot of fol.36v. are the catchwords ki sunt a com[patre].

Capitals. The title* of the work appears at the top of fol.3r. as UEGETII·PHILOSOFI·DE·RE·/ MILITARI·DE·LATINO·IN·GAL·LICUM·DE·NOUO·TRANSLAT^o·/, followed immediately by LIBER·PRIMUS·INCIPIT: Each of these four lines of capitals, alternately red and blue, with some intricate penwork decoration, occupies two normal lines of text.

Apart from the title, there are 101 large capitals in the French text, almost all of them introducing a new chapter. Of these 53 are red, on a decorative background of thin blue lines usually in a spiral motif. Similarly, the remaining 48 are blue on a red filigree background. The colours tend to alternate, but this is not always the case. These capitals usually take up two text lines and are ornamented with long marginal flourishes. Occasionally, however, the design and embellishment may be more extravagant, notably in ff.3r. and v., 73r., 75v., and 88r., where the capitals may take in several text lines, and elongated flourishes the entire length of the margin. Throughout the manuscript, small guide letters for each capital are written in the margins.

In the Latin text there are two particularly large and decorative capitals : i) fol.91r: a blue and red P, on a highly ornate background of the same colours, which stretches half the length of the page; ii) fol.140r: a blue and red U, again on an ornate background of the same colours, which occupies four lines of text.

* see Frontispiece

As in the French version, a decorated capital introduces each new chapter of the Latin text. Of a total of 125, 68 of these are red upon a blue background, and 57 blue over red. The accompanying flourishes appear to be progressively more adventurous than in the preceding French text.

There are in addition a number of small coloured capitals, notably in the lists of chapters on ff.91r. and v., 101v., 102r., and 114r. and v. Of these some 36 are red and 36 blue, generally alternating. Furthermore, ff.115r. and 139r. and v. have a number of smaller capitals - or initials - which are each set off by a touch of red ink. The only parallels in the French text are on fol.26v. (Nous) and fol.37r. (Coment, Quei).

Miniatures. The manuscript contains two illustrations.

The first is a full-page miniature painted on fol.2v. I quote in full (the parentheses being my own) the description which Professor Thorpe has already given of this miniature :

"On the right sits a bearded figure, clad in a flowing (grey) robe (and red tunic) and wearing a beret-shaped cap, round whom is twined a scroll bearing in gothic script the words : Venez a moy senurs chevalers que volez aver honur de chevalerie. In the centre foreground stands a tall youthful prince; he is bare-headed and clean-shaven, and over his robe (blue) he wears a (dark red) mantle trimmed with ermine; his right hand

rests lightly on the right hand of the seated figure.

On the left, behind the prince, crowd six beardless men clad in long robes and mantles. The whole group is framed in a triple gothic archway round which is written in uncials (white on blue) the solution to the identity of the personages portrayed : MILITES•DNI•EDI•DOMINVS• EDWARDVS•VEGETIVS•PHILO[SOPH]VS. The background, at the top of the miniature, shows a crenelated wall which follows the shape of the triple archway and which is topped in its turn by three crenelated towers, two with pointed roofs and the centre one crowned by a dome."⁷⁷⁾

The style of the background is similar to that of other miniatures dating from the middle of the thirteenth century⁷⁸⁾. The figures are set against a background of burnished diapered gold, and the whole is evidently a symbolic representation of Vegetius offering to reveal the secrets of his wisdom in the arts of war to the future Edward I and his knights.

The second miniature occupies approximately half of fol.86r. It is pasted down on the page, and is painted on thicker vellum than that used for the copying of the body of the text - vellum more like that of fol.2, in fact. The blue and white frame was painted after the miniature was affixed. The pictorial record is of a sea-fight. One ship is depicted broadside on, and the prow of another vessel is shown. Two archers are shooting crossbows, soldiers clad

in chainmail are wielding boat-hooks, daggers and long spears, while others in turret and masthead prepare to throw pieces of rock. One man falls overboard, victim of an enemy lance, into the distinctly green waves below, where an eel and three different fish are swimming. Round the turrets of both vessels are hung shields with various blazons.

The whole is vigorous and lively, presenting a marked contrast between the ideals of warfare, as symbolized in the first miniature, and the harsh realities of an actual struggle for life and death⁷⁹⁾.

4. DATE AND AUTHORSHIP OF THE FITZWILLIAM VEGETIUS

The question of the date and authorship of the Fitzwilliam Vegetius has already been discussed by Professor Thorpe and Miss Dominica Legge in three articles published in 1952 and 1953⁸⁰⁾.

In his first article Professor Thorpe suggests that the translation was made in the town of Acre between 1271-2 for Eleanor of Castile, wife of the future Edward I of England. This suggestion is based, principally, on two distinct items of evidence. The first is the miniature on fol.2v., which depicts the Lord Edward (DOMINVS EDWARDVS)⁸¹⁾ in the company of his knights, symbolically receiving instruction in the arts of "chivalry" from Vegetius. The second item takes the form of eight lines of verse written in a charter hand of the second half of the thirteenth century on fol.152v., that is to say on the first blank page at the end of the Latin text :

Mastre Richard, vostre clerc, que vostre livre escrit

En la vile d'Acre sans nul contredit,

Wus pri, madame, pur Celui que tuit le monde fist,

Ke vus ne le metez en ubli por chose ke hum vus dist.

Kar en la Tere Seinte vot fere sa penance

Ke lui fu enjuigte par bone repentance,

Fin que Deu de ces pechez lui face deliverance;

E pus après vot retorner a vus, madame, en France.

In the first line vostre livere replaces a crossed-out ceste lettre; and for enjuigte, in line 6, Professor Thorpe proposes the correction enjuigie or enjuingte.

In his second article Professor Thorpe brings to light a further piece of evidence for the dating of the text in the form of a reference to Kenilworth. The Latin of Vegetius runs :

Necessario autem amplior securitas grauius solet habere discrimen. Inparatis, cibum capientibus, in itinere lassus, equos suos pascentibus ac nihil tale suspicantibus superuentus adsolent fieri⁸²⁾.

and is thus revised in the Anglo-Norman translation :

Car plus grant seurté soleit sovent aver plus gref damage, cum quant il manjoient, quant il furent lassez, quant il pessoient lor chivaus, ou quant il dorment e nul mal ne soschoient. Donc soleient estre fait les assauz com a Keneling Worthe. (115,1-5)

This reference, as Professor Thorpe points out, is evidently to the Lord Edward's surprise assault on Kenilworth in 1265, when he was able to rout the sleeping forces of the younger Simon de Montfort outside the very fortress which might have provided them with shelter. It is therefore established beyond all doubt that the French text of the Fitzwilliam Vegetius dates from after the night of 31 July - 1 August, 1265, when Edward performed his exploit.

Miss Legge in her article is critical of Professor Thorpe's first conclusions :

"The English, it is true, were only at Acre during that period (1271-2). But though the hand is English, and may be late thirteenth century, I am told that it may be early fourteenth, and there is no proof that the verses are not a copy. Moreover, as they are on the verso of the last leaf of the Latin text of Vegetius, they are very dubious evidence for the date or history of the French text, which is on separate quires and perhaps in a different hand from the Latin, and may be itself merely a copy. The script cannot be said with certainty to be as early as 1271-2, and for reasons which will appear, the translation would seem to be either earlier or later than this."⁸³⁾

Miss Legge considers that the miniature on fol.2v. is connected with the French translation, forming, as it does, a quire with the French list of contents, and containing a caption in French. However, the fact that Edward and his knights are depicted as "slim, beardless striplings" would seem to bring forward the date of the translation to the occasion of Edward's knighthood in Gascony, in October, 1254; or, alternatively, to some time between then and 1256, when he had reached the age of seventeen and when Vegetius would presumably have served as "the theoretical counterpart of the practical side of his education."⁸⁴⁾ Perhaps, too, 1271-2 would seem a

little late to offer Edward, the experienced campaigner arriving at Acre shortly before his thirty-second birthday, a treatise "on the rudiments of warfare". Miss Legge concludes that if the translation was made for the future Edward I, it is probably to be dated 1254-6; if for his son, Edward II (a possibility not ruled out), it was written in 1306.

Miss Legge's conclusions are unsatisfactory ones, and the following pages will show that I agree with the date of 1272 originally put forward by Professor Thorpe.

The problem of the date and authorship of the Fitzwilliam Vegetius is in fact more complex than has so far appeared. The Latin text is admittedly on separate gatherings, but the hand is identical with that of the body of the French text, and I see no reason to doubt that both are the work of one and the same scribe. However, the French chapter lists on both recto and verso of fol.1 are certainly not the work of this scribe and, more important, they form a separate quire with fol.2, on the verso of which is found the introductory miniature. Similarly, the vellum of these two folios does not seem to be the same as that used for the rest of the manuscript. On fol.3r., the first of a new gathering, the title is given for the first time and the translation proper begins in a different hand. It therefore seems likely that the first two folios are not in fact contemporary with the remainder of the manuscript, and

that the miniature may indeed date from Edward's elevation to knighthood, the reference to Kenilworth in the body of the translation no longer precluding this possibility.

If these first two folios do in fact ante-date the remainder of the manuscript by some eighteen years, a series of questions is necessarily raised. If the manuscript's separate entities were the works of different scribes, how did they come together in this volume? If the whole was the work of one scribe, why was the completion of the translation so long delayed? Can the verses at the end of the Latin text now still be connected with the miniature and with the young Lord Edward? There seems to be no completely satisfactory answer. Hypotheses, however, may always be made.

Perhaps a certain scribe was commissioned to translate the treatise in celebration of Edward's attainment of knighthood, was forced to discontinue the work for some unexplained reason, and only resumed it many years later (whilst attached to Edward's contingent of the crusading forces at Acre?). The passage of time might explain the orthographical variation within the completed manuscript. Reasoning on the same lines, one might alternatively suggest that a second scribe of the same school took up the scarce-begun translation and himself completed it at a later date.

On the other hand, perhaps the first two folios had once formed part of that earlier (Anglo-Norman) translation of the De re militari hinted at in the title on fol.3r. : VEGETII

PHILOSOFI DE RE MILITARI DE LATINO IN GALLICUM DE NOVO TRANS-
LATUS.

One would be hard put to find an explanation for the disappearance of the rest of this earlier work. It may, however, be said with certainty that the scribe of the Fitzwilliam Vegetius did have at hand an earlier French translation of the De re militari while he was engaged on producing his own copy. Many apparent mistranslations can be explained only as mis-copyings from this earlier version, and I have commented on the more obvious of these in the Critical Notes at the end of this volume. Examples are la legiaunce (7,9) for l'alegraunce, oilz (18,18) for ostz, pez (23,4) for piz, relement (24,22) for rerement, estachera (27,16) for esrachera, etc.

Such examples do not in themselves supply conclusive proof that the French text was entirely copied from an earlier version, for the fact remains that this translation is an exceedingly poor one (again, this becomes apparent from the briefest of glances at the Critical Notes). It reads like a direct, literal translation from an original often badly misunderstood. If it were a mere copy of an earlier translation, surely one might have expected the scribe to attempt to make some sense of the text, to produce, in effect, a piece of work at once coherent and comprehensible. This is not the case. Errors are glaring and inaccuracies commonplace.

What is one ultimately to say in the face of so many paradoxes? That basically we have before us an independent

version of the text of Vegetius, a text de novo translatus? or a text whose "novelty" is somewhat tempered by leanings on an earlier translation? or a text which is an exact reproduction of an earlier translation? I believe the middle course to be the most acceptable; that this present text is not identical with that earlier version of which folios 1 and 2 of the Fitzwilliam Vegetius formed part and from which the later scribe frequently took inspiration when faced with difficult passages in the original Latin. Possibly the scribe had intended in all faith to produce a "new" translation. He evidently did not fully realise his intention; often troubled by recurring references to strange peoples, places, customs, armour and machines, he took refuge by turning to the earlier version and quoting it at length. One may, however, presume that the earlier translator had encountered the same sort of difficulties and that his own mistakes have often been perpetuated by the scribe of the Fitzwilliam Vegetius and perhaps indeed been amplified by the latter's subsequent miscopyings.

For what reason the first two folios became detached from the first manuscript remains a mystery. Most plausible is that the miniature provided the attraction, and the scribe of this later manuscript version may well have been responsible for detaching it - together with the preceding chapter lists and with the second miniature pasted down on fol.86r. - from the rest of the text.

The reference to the surprise assault on Kenilworth must add weight to the contention that the translation was in fact intended for the Lord Edward. The Latin is paraphrased in order that the analogy be more accurately made, with the result that ou quant il dormeient is added to the original list of suitable opportunities for attack. The scribe-translator may even have been present himself at Kenilworth, as Professor Thorpe suggests. At all events he was familiar with the circumstances under which the assault took place, and this flattering reference to Edward's coup, the only notable addition to Vegetius' text in an otherwise pedestrian translation, would no doubt have pleased the future king.

Much more debatable is the strange letter at the end of the Latin text⁸⁵⁾, and a close examination of its implications must be made before any conclusion on the date and authorship of the Fitzwilliam Vegetius can be reached.

A relatively cursory study of the language of these lines reveals that it is quite distinct from that of the text. Indeed it approximates more closely to Continental Norman than to that variety of French spoken and written in England (and of which the translation of the De re militari is a fair example). Mastre, Wus, hum and vot are notable points of distinction, parallel forms in the text being mestre (28,20 etc.), vus (11,11 etc.), om, etc. passim, and vult, etc., (31,14). Tuit (84,6) occurs once only in the text, as a nominative plural pronoun,

whereas here its use as an accusative singular is much more remarkable. For the plural substantive pechez, there is the verb peccher (72,8) with the double consonant spelling in the text. Similarly, forms of mettre in the text are invariably spelt with the double consonant. The spelling aun, common in the text, does not appear, although we find an in the rhyme no less than four times. Finally, ke is used almost - but not quite - exclusively for que throughout the text, both as a conjunction and relative pronoun, whereas here ke is used three times as a conjunction, whilst que is used once in the compound fin que and twice as a relative pronoun. It is therefore apparent that the scribe responsible for these lines of verse is not to be identified with the scribe responsible for the Fitzwilliam Anglo-Norman translation of the De re militari of Vegetius.

Taken out of the context of the manuscript, the general sense of these verses seems fairly clear. A certain Mastre Richard, at present in the Holy Land, has written a book in Acre. The book is for a lady, presumably of some rank, whom he serves in some official capacity. He wishes to do penance in the Holy Land for his sins and, when finally absolved, to return to that same lady in France.

The simplicity of the tale is, however, deceptive. Why did the scribe cross out his original ceste lettre and replace it with vostre livere? And although the use of the third person singular in order to avoid first person forms

is conventional enough, does this entirely rule out the possibility that the verses were not written by Mastre Richard himself?

Three interpretations of the letter suggest themselves to me : i) The scribe, Mastre Richard, after completing both the text and the verses, realised that in barely acknowledging himself as the writer of the letter, he might not be accredited with the authorship of the work as a whole, and therefore replaced his earlier ceste lettre with vostre livre. This is, however, now seen to be improbable in view of the divergence of the language of text and letter. ii) A second (Norman?) scribe, Mastre Richard, with an eye to easy glory added vostre livre to his letter on second thoughts, in this way fraudulently assuming the authorship of a text he did not write. In its very transparency, a fraud of this order seems unlikely. iii) A second (Norman?) scribe, writing the letter as it were by proxy for the author of the text, appreciated that he was failing in his duty to Richard in not giving him proper credit for his work, and rectified the error by substituting vostre livre for ceste lettre. This latter interpretation seems to me the most acceptable.

Assuming then that the scribe of the body of the text of the Fitzwilliam Vegetius was indeed the Mastre Richard referred to at the end of the volume, some sort of historical background to his activities may be adduced.

Richard could certainly not have been writing later than 1291, for this was the year of the fall of Acre and its absorption into the Mamluk Sultanate. Nor could he have copied the body of the text before 1265, in view of the reference to Kenilworth in Book III, although the first two folios of the manuscript may well date from the end of 1254 or soon after, as has been shown. No direct connection with Edward is suggested by the letter on fol.152v., whereas he is actually depicted and identified on fol.2v. The surprising mention of Kenilworth on fol.67r. would still seem to associate the body of the translation with Edward, particularly seeing that no other contemporary battle or feat-of-arms is granted similar notice. Furthermore, the circumstances of Edward's successful assault are evidently firmly imprinted in the mind of the translator. This could be due to a keen memory, but it is just as likely that he wrote only a few years after the event took place.

I believe that Mastre Richard was a French-speaking Englishman who probably served Edward of England and/or his wife Eleanor of Castile in some minor official capacity⁸⁶). He travelled with them and the English crusading contingent to Acre, remaining there at least from May, 1271 until August, 1272, when Edward and Eleanor left. With the assistance of an earlier translation, he began (or resumed) his work on the De re militari of Vegetius while in the Holy Land, and his intention was to present the finished manuscript to Eleanor.

Alternatively he may himself have been commissioned by Eleanor, who wished to present the work to her husband. Apparently the manuscript had not been completed by the time she and Edward left on the first stage of their long return journey to England. For reasons unknown to us Richard did not go back with them. Perhaps he had not completed his penance, as the verses suggest. One may conjecture that he later put the finishing touches to his manuscript, which he then entrusted to a brother scribe who left Acre some time after Edward and Eleanor had done so. The royal couple spent over a year in France before finally returning to England at the beginning of August, 1274. Presumably it was while they were there that the manuscript reached them, the message from Richard being penned by his envoy shortly before the presentation of the work to Eleanor.

5. TRANSLATION

It seems most likely that the first-ever translation of the De re militari of Vegetius was made into Anglo-Norman. It also seems likely that this was one of the least competent of the many versions of the work which made their appearance during the Middle Ages. I have found it necessary to clarify many of the poorer passages of the translation by printing the corresponding Latin passage in the Critical Notes at the end of this volume, and where necessary have added my own comments. Reference to these Notes will provide more detailed information as to the value of the translation. However, a more compact assessment may here be made by recording and commenting upon some of the text's more salient features.

It should in the first place be made quite clear that the French text of the Fitzwilliam Vegetius is not a direct translation of the Latin copy of the De re militari which is also contained in the same volume. This is evident from a number of discrepancies between the two texts. For example, for the Latin manuscript's unciarum .viii. (Lang. unciarum nouem) the French text has de nef unces (24,18), for .xx. it has .xxiii. (32,10 note), for constituunt (Lang. consentiunt) it has consentent (36,2), for conflictus incertum (Lang. ad publici conflictus incertum) it has al incertitudine del

comun assaut (94,9), and for inter bonos equites (Lang. inter binos equites) it has entre .ii. a chival (102,15).

On the other hand a great many more of the manuscript's Latin text readings which do not agree with the standard text established by Lang are reproduced in the French translation. Attention has been drawn in the Critical Notes to many of these variants. This seems to suggest that both texts of the Fitzwilliam Vegetius are based upon an earlier Latin manuscript. Here the picture becomes more complicated, for, as I have already shown in the preceding chapter, a number of mistranslations can only be explained as miscopyings from an earlier French manuscript. The translation was, therefore, probably based on two works : an earlier Latin manuscript, together with an earlier French version.

A number of comparatively lengthy passages of the original are omitted from the Anglo-Norman Vegetius. The translator himself acknowledges his omission of most of the Preface to Book I : Issi cunte li auctor ascunes choses ki ne funt mie grant mester de escrivre, kar il se escuse vers le empereor, ausi cum les bons philosophes soleyent fere (3,17). No such acknowledgement is, however, given for his failure to include the longer Preface to Book III, which results in the celebrated dictum qui desiderat pacem, praeparet bellum finding no place in the translation. Two complete chapters are omitted; these are contained in Book IV of the original and are entitled

Quemadmodum ambulatoria turris possit incendi (IV,18) and Quid facere debeant oppidani, si hostes inruperint ciuitatem (IV,25).

There are no especially difficult passages in these chapters and their omission in translation is more likely due to oversight than to intention.

A conscious omission of part of the original text is made towards the end of the work, when the author's description of the twelve classical winds is dropped (IV,38). A space of sufficient dimensions to include this description is taken up by a half-page miniature on fol.86r, of the manuscript, and it may have been that the scribe deliberately left blank twelve text-lines at the appropriate point with the idea of completing the chapter later. This theory is borne out by the fact that in the Latin text of the Fitzwilliam Vegetius the corresponding chapter is very poorly copied, mainly due to the attempted romanization of the Greek characters employed in recording the names of each of the winds. At all events the passage was never translated, and the manuscript's second miniature may have to be considered as a necessary stop-gap, rather than as an embellishment specifically planned to coincide with that point of the text. The illustration certainly has no bearing whatsoever on the chapter it disrupts. For similar reasons, and again on weather conditions at sea, a sentence containing three Greek terms is omitted from IV,40. Yet another notable omission is made in I,5, where over half of an admittedly short chapter is left out and a reference to

Homer's Tideus passed over.

Indeed, classical figures, whether fictitious or historical personalities, are notable sufferers in the Anglo-Norman Vegetius. In I,6 three lines of Virgil are omitted, together with the poet's name; and among other names quoted in the original which find no place in the translation are Quinctius Cincinnatus (I,3), Sertorius (I,7 and I,9), Gratian (I,20), Mithridates (III,24), Capaneus (IV,21) and Varro (IV,41).

References in the Latin text to peoples and places also give rise to problems. The Lacedaemonians, Athenians, Marsians, Samnites, Pelignians and Romans of I,28 are discreetly reduced to Romains (31,18). A further reference to the Lacedaemonians and their exploitation of reserve troops is fully reproduced in III,17 , but whereas the original continues by saying that such tactics were copied by the Carthaginians, the translation remains silent on this point. Nor do the African peoples, the Urcilliani and the Mazioes (III,23), fare any better; they disappear from the text, together with the Celtiberi of II,2 ; and the Bessi (II,11 and IV,24) remain unacknowledged in the translation for their skill in the subterranean warfare there described.

Geographical locations, too, occasionally perplex the translator. For in Oriente he writes, inaccurately, en Ynde (118,1). In Illyrico becomes en cel pais (20,4), and in Tiberi, en la rivere (6,22), although the latter is certainly a

conscious generalization. Ces ki habitoient en l'isle ke est apelé Primes (19,4), for primi Balearium insularum habitatores indicates a deficient knowledge both of Latin and of the western regions of the Mediterranean. Similarly, Diatesine (145,15), for the city of Iader, and Miserte (144,13 and 145,1) for Misenum, although stemming from miscopyings in the Latin original, are not put to rights by the scribe-translator, whose passage to and sojourn in Acre must surely have acquainted him with some of the Mediterranean shores. Sometimes the reference is omitted completely, as in the case of the Roman province of Pontus and the Sea of Marmora (IV,31), and Actium (IV,33 and 37). Similarly, no mention is made of Rhodes and its siege in IV,20.

Notable additions to the locations found in the original are a description of the boundaries of Gaul : ceo est a dire del mounz de Monju dekes a la mer de Engleterre, e des le Ryn dekes al Port d'Espayne (4,5) and a reference to Kenilworth and the conditions under which the surprise assault of 1265 took place (discussed in the preceding chapter). An oblique reference by the translator to the Holy Land is possibly contained in al orient (5,11)

Proper names are sometimes rendered unrecognizable by the translator's misreading of his original or by the reproduction of the original's faults. A number of fictitious characters are created in this manner, such as un grant seignor Primipilus Centurio (56,13) for primi pili centurio, Fidestin de Mont Trajane (37,23) for Frontinus, diuo Traiano, Astutus (43,14

and 43,18) for hastatus, and Crinius Primer (56,17) for primis-crinius. Similarly, Hunnorumque equitum becomes chivalers de Tumans (22,6), and Dacos autem et Moesos et Thracas is translated as ceus de Trace e de Nace e de Meise (31,21).

The value of the translation itself as a document of Roman military theory and practice is further impaired by its author's inability to cope with a large number of the more technical terms which are inevitably to be encountered in a work of this nature. Professor Thorpe illustrates this well in pp. 44-46 of his first article. Some further examples may be noted.

Where a word or phrase is not properly understood, it may be either omitted altogether or else paraphrased. As examples of the first course, we find that no translation is offered for tragularii (II,15), flammulae tufae pinnae (III,5), barritus (III,18), drungi (III,19), metallae (IV,6). In III,7 the instructions of Vegetius for transporting an army safely across a river are condensed and confused by the translator; and woe betide the mediaeval commander who should look to the Anglo-Norman Vegetius for guidance in signalling to his troops. The original careful catalogue of the functions of trumpets, horns, etc. is much modified in the translations of II,22 and III,5. Descriptions of indoor training in winter (II,23) and of the respective functions of funditores and fundibulatores (III,14) are other passages omitted.

However, the translator is quite prepared to make approximations or generalizations when faced with difficult terms, instead of leaving them out altogether. The word compaignie, for example, is used in one form or another for phalanx (35,16), contubernales (37,7), turba (37,9), cohortes (40,2), turma (48,11), comitantes (74,2), agmen (77,5), tribuni electi (89,1), acies (103,2), cuneus (103,9), uniuersa (103,14), manus (115,15), etc., and in such expressions as compaignies aidanz (67,2), "auxiliary troops", and en compaignie (passim) for in acie, "in battle".

E plusors autres offices furent jadis ke ne sunt pas ore;
e autres nouns les aunciens aveient ke nus ne usom pas (43,6) provides a good example of the evasiveness of the translation. En autre ferremez (45,16) conceals a list of various tasks requiring particular tools; ou de autre chose (133,18) is written for centonibusque, and teus maneres des choses (117,13) for tribuli; the Ambrones, a Gallic tribe, are consigned to anonymity as des autres (94,6).

A number of words whose connotation is more properly mediaeval are superimposed upon the text. They are nearly all terms of chivalry, such as chivalerie (1,1), chivalers (1,2), juvenceus (1,3), conestable (2,15), vassaus (5,6), bachelorie (9,14) and esquiers (14,16). The word hauberk appears quite often. In the thirteenth century it commonly denoted the ubiquitous coat of mail, or mail shirt, whereas the lorica, or

cuirass, to which Vegetius constantly refers, was generally composed of plate armour to protect the trunk and particularly the chest. (Plate armour was still comparatively rare in the thirteenth century and was not worn extensively until the fourteenth). Again, Greek fire, referred to on 130,7 and 154,2, was probably derived from an invention of Callinicus of Helio-
polis about 673, some 180 years after the writing of the De re militari⁸⁷⁾. Although Vegetius was certainly familiar with some kind of incendiary oil, this could not have been of the potency of Greek fire proper, which was put to such deadly effect by Byzantine and Moslem during the Middle Ages. On 130,16 the translator writes of mangeneus a grosses peres por launcer e geter ou trebuechez, where Vegetius mentions the onager. The mangon (or mangonel) is the legitimate descendant of the Roman onager or scorpio⁸⁸⁾, machines worked by torsion as distinct from the tensive force required to discharge the ballista. In the reference to the trebuchet, however, we have a more specific medisevalization, for this machine was activated by heavy counterpoises. In the time of Vegetius the two chief methods of producing propelling power were torsion and tension. The counterpoise device, on the other hand, had apparently not been exploited before the twelfth century⁸⁹⁾. Again, the arblastas to which the translator refers on 45,15 are smaller weapons in the Middle Ages than the ballistae of Vegetius, sizeable catapults put to their best effect in siege warfare.

Charles Oman provides the best commentary on the confused

image presented to mediaeval writers by the various machines of war :

"Much confusion is caused to the readers of chronicles by the fact that the writers of the early centuries of the Middle Ages use many names for describing the same weapons. All siege-artillery was either of the type of the mangon, i.e. relying on torsion, or on that of the balista, i.e. relying on tension. But they are called indifferently "slings", "catapults", "petraries", "machines", "engines", "tormenta", with the most exasperating vagueness and inaccuracy, by authors who, being for the most part clergy and not military men, did not fully understand the principles of the devices which they were describing. Moreover, confusion is often caused by the fact that by slight adaptations or changes of shape, the "mangon", whose proper work was the casting of rocks, might be made to hurl javelins, and the balista, whose speciality lay in the accurate propelling of shafts, might be induced to hurl stones."⁹⁰⁾

The translator's Ffranceis (35,17) for Galli is, of course, yet another form of mediaevalization of the text. (+ Franceis 94,2).

Genuine additions made by the translator to the original text are comparatively few. Vegetius is qualified as le philosophe de Rome on 3,5; this is simply in keeping with that general mediaeval conception of Vegetius as an almost sanctified source of military wisdom; although it is apparent from the

translator's Fflavian e Vexate e Renate (33,1) that the Latin author's identity is by no means surely established. In the first three Books of the translation, chapters are frequently introduced by a reference to the author, eg. Isci comence Vegece sun livre, e dit (4,1), Aprés dit li auctor (5,4), Ci demande li auctur a soi memes (6,1), Ore dit li auctor (7,3), En ce chapitre dit l'auctor (8,5), etc. In Books II and III the favourite introductory formula seems to be En cest chapitre aprent li auctors (which first appears in I,24). For the remainder of the text, however, the practice is discontinued (except in IV,12), and the sense that one is reading "reported" speech largely disappears.

Sometimes, however, this "reporting" of speech occurs in the body of the text, as in the case of E respont a soy memes (6,3), Ore dit li auctor ici (6,11), Ce dit le auctor (41,12), ore somont le auctor (94,11); and further references to Vegetius appear in ke il dit devant (139,7) and ad il avant tuché (148,17). On the other hand a piece of reported speech in the original is transposed, to some effect, into direct speech in 7,13-15. Occasionally the translator himself adds a comment in the first person, as is the case with dont je vous di avant (107,11) and les queus je vous ai avant nomez (139,3).

The translator draws attention to the original numbering of the majority of the chapters of Book I (eg. Ci finist le second chapitre (5,22), En cest disme chapitre (13,13), etc.), although Chapters 5,6,7,8,9,24,26 and 27 are not numbered, and

Chapters 18 and 25 are incorrectly numbered. After the beginning of Book II the practice is discontinued.

Numerals, generally as measures of length or as an indication of the size of armies and their component parts, are in fact quite often confused or omitted by the translator : cf. 12,8 note, 27,19 note, 48,12 note, etc. II,6 and III,15, where accuracy is essential, are chapters which suffer badly in this respect.

Other interesting additions to the text occur in kar les uns sunt tuz jurs prest a ocire e a eus defendre, e les autres ne sevent for ke fuir ou receyvre la mort (5,1), kar les nobles homes unt plus tost hunte de fuir ke autres (9,18), e por ce mescheeit (10,7), com de fevre e de charpenter (46,10), ou en plasseis ou en valeies (78,23), com en ayde (107,5), e entrent e issent quant il voillent (140,11), e destruent quant ke il trovent (140,16). Then there is an odd reference on 12,10 to the "Lombardian" rate of marching.

Vegetius' taste for etymologizing has been mentioned elsewhere. His etymologies, however, are not easily translated, as is apparent from de haunt si vint cest noun ost (58,4), which is obtained from ad exercitium reuertimur, unde...exercitus nomen accepit; cf. 34,15 note, 35,3 note, 85,24 note, etc.

One odd trait which may be noted is the translator's addiction to using two words for Vegetius' one, or using two phrases of similar meaning to express a single idea. Thus the Romans are petiz e de breve estature (4,8), the new recruit

must be com hom bien esveillee de oiez, ne mie com hom endormi (8,18), and the good general should know exactly la ou la bataille deit estre e ou l'em deit combatre (97,3); per noctem flammis becomes de nuit par flambe ou par feu (74,15), and latissimae becomes e larges e lees (128,2); those formidable machines of war, the ballista and onager, not only trenchent totes choses ke il atteignent e mettent a nient (143,3), but also quele chose ke il ferent soleient tot desjoindre ou derumpre (143,6).

This practice becomes ludicrous when yet another element is added to the already "doubled" translation, notably in uncore / hui / cest jour (90,11) for hodie, sus le chef / amont / en haut (143,12) for (ad muri) fastigia, and, similarly, aporta le signe amont / en son heaume / desor sa teste (48,3) for signum habebat in galea.

Finally, there are a number of errors in the translation which may perhaps be most appropriately classed as "howlers". They certainly supply the only light amusement the French text has to offer. The following examples all fall into this category :

triarum : ceus ke furent a tere (23,22)

Hi sunt milites principales, qui privilegiis muniuntur :

E de ce vindrent les provendres ke sunt en hautes esglises (43,5)

nona comitante : ne mie trop joinant (50,24)

carris suis : a lor chers amis (93,4)

non sperante : nous esperom (110,12)

Alii contra elefantos catafractos milites inmiserunt :

Autres chivalers envoierent autres enginz encontre les olifanz
ke il apelerent catefractes (118,8)

Illud additum est : ce est oie chose (118,19)

ducis constantia : le dustre ki remaint (119,12)

saga ciliciaque : cointe haires (128,12)

speculandi : de trere des darz (147,18)

ars clauum regentis : art des clous (153,2)

qui...testudines musculos arietes uineas, ut appellant,
turres etiam ambulatorias faciunt : k'il puissent refaire vis-
nes e oster les limaçonz e les mousches e autre ordure (62,6).

A fairly clear conclusion may be drawn from the foregoing survey. As a translation the Fitzwilliam Anglo-Norman text leaves a great deal to be desired. The original has often been misunderstood, and this has resulted in a French text of no great coherence, marred by a succession of errors and omissions for which adequate substitutions are rarely made. Perhaps the earlier pages of the text show a greater accuracy and originality than the rest of the work affords us; but then Book I is of a more general interest than its successors. The translator's own interest clearly wanes when he is later confronted with long descriptions of strange tactics and machines. Book V is, in fact, appallingly translated, and the beginnings of that English interest in naval warfare and sea-power so well reflected in the latter pages of Knyghthode and Bataile some two centuries

later, are scarcely in evidence in the Anglo-Norman De re militari. I have been obliged to quote a large proportion of the Latin text of Book V in the Critical Notes, in order to secure some sort of interpretation of a succession of apparently disjointed and meaningless sentences.

The translator shows little ingenuity in overcoming some of the more difficult passages, and there is little evidence of any truly conscious attempt to modernize the text. Throughout constant reference must be made to the Latin original.

6. LANGUAGE

As a basis for the following study I have taken that section of Professor Mildred Pope's From Latin to Modern French which treats broadly of the Anglo-Norman dialect of Old French and which records the dialect's principal points of divergence from the French spoken and written on the continent⁹¹⁾. I have observed Professor Pope's main divisions of Phonology, Orthography, Declension and Conjugation, although I have considered both declension and conjugation under the general heading of Morphology. Similarly, I have followed fairly closely - I hope not too slavishly - Professor Pope's subdivisions, and have supplemented them by referring to other works on Anglo-Norman and by recording certain peculiarities of the text wherever this has seemed appropriate. Distinctions between phonology and orthography have not always been easy to maintain, particularly without the saving factor of rhyme, which often provides the surest sounding-board for linguistic studies of this nature. There may therefore be some overlapping of these two sections. There is little evidence to show that the syntax of Anglo-Norman differs markedly from that of Continental French; the few syntactical points I have therefore discussed under the general heading of Morphology⁹²⁾.

It is on this basis that I have attempted to review the language of the Fitzwilliam Vegetius, bearing in mind as far as possible those forms characteristic of Anglo-Norman, as opposed to parallel forms on the continent and more notably in the Île-de-France.

The line-number quoted generally refers to the first example of a given form occurring in the text. Many forms appear too often for all the examples to be listed. The figures in parentheses, which usually precede sectional headings, indicate the relevant paragraphs in From Latin to Modern French. References to other works are given in full in the Notes.

[Phonetic symbols are enclosed in square brackets. The phonetic notation is basically that employed by Prof. Pope (op. cit., pp.xvii-xviii), with the exception of the following symbols : ε (= Pope e), ə (e), œ (ø), ɔ (o), y (u), ʌ (j), ʃ (š), tʃ (tš), ʒ (ž), dʒ (dž).]

i.e. Phonetic symbols are used in accordance with the principles of the International Phonetic Association.

PHONOLOGY

(i). Conservatism in pronunciation

1. (Pope.1105). Persistence of -ARIE, -ORIE :

-arie, -orie < -arium, -orium, etc., persisting late in Anglo-Norman, are to be found side by side with Continental French forms in the text : adversarie 88,3 etc., adversaire 15,2 etc.; vicaries 79,6, vicaires 70,19 etc.; comentaires 33,2, comentaires 86,11; victorie 4,25 etc., victoire 24,2 etc.; memorie 38,21, memoire 124,4.

Some words ending in -arie, -orie have no equivalents in the text in -aire, -oire : necessarie 90,14, (pl.) 52,22 etc., contrarie 98,1, glorie 90,19, 124,14; but regular Continental French forms predominate : legionayres 34,17, ordinaires 42,6 etc., ymaginaires 42,12, dragoneires 42,14, ferrentaires 36,14, estoirs 11,2, 142,16, traires 51,1 etc. (For this form a semi-phonetic spelling is occasionally employed : legioners 56,19, dragoners 47,12, ferrenters 50,15 etc.)

In some cases there is confusion between the two forms : aversairie 15,22, adversairie 121,3, 122,13, adversairies 88,14, victoiries 65,7.

2. (P.1106). Instability of prosthetic [e] :

des stocs 83,15; but de estocs 83,14, les estocs 83,17,
les estoks 83,21.

3. (P.1109) Reluctance to dissimilate counter-tonic [u] from tonic [u] :

solonc 29,16 etc., solom 54,10, 146,10; onkore 43,23 etc.,
oncore 44,1, unkore 36,3, uncore 81,21 etc.⁹³), (encore 108,22);
somondre 80,21, somont 57,4, 94,11, somondrent 42,24, somons
114,4; socourre 91,18; sojornez 88,20, 119,2; provost 2,12
etc. (L.L. propositus), provosterie 56,19.

(ii). Influence of intensified tonic stress on unstressed vowels.

1. (P.1131-3). Reduction of vowels in hiatus :

a) [a:a]>[a] : age 1,4 etc. (< aage, eage < *aetaticum)
a prendre 7,4 (= a apprendre 16,9); etc.,
cf. p.79.

b) [a:e]>[a] : hange 92,15 (< haenge on haer < Fk. hatjan).
The hiatus may be avoided by a vocalic
glide : haienge 96,12 (but paen 60,3).

c) [a:ɛi]>[ɛi] : cheines 61,20 (< chaeines < catenas)

- d) [e(ə);ɛ(e)]>[ɛ],[e] : relement 24,22 (<reelement 152,1, realement, on Med.L. realis); asser 17,11 (<asseer 7,23, asseir 1,14 < *assedere), asseront 42,7; ser 100,1 (<seer, seeir). No similar reduction is made in the case of veer 91,19 etc.
- e) [e:ɐ̃]>[ɐ̃] : citeins 6,23, 67,4 (<citeains, on cité <civitatem)
- f) Final [e:ə]>[e] : teste levé 8,19, une cité enmuré 25,19.
- g) [ə:u]>[u] : emperor 39,18 (<empereor, -eur <imperator-rem), but in this case the hiatus is generally preserved : empereor 3,19 etc., empereur 10,15 etc., empereour 31,9, 144,1. governors 151,20, 152,14, governurs 145,7, governours 152,18 (<gubernatores); comandor 45,3.
- h) [ə:y]>[y] : vesture 17,2, 148,1 (<vesteure <vestitura); sur 86,4, ensur 16,5, surement 91,12, 114,20; although forms in eu predominate : seur 69,4 etc., enseur 25,18 etc., seurement 83,24 etc., tresseur 126,8, seurté 115,1, 152,17. Many words retain traditional spellings : armeure 17,15 etc., meur 99,2, tempreure 130,10, boneuré 16,23. For verbs, see p.122.


i) [u:a]>[u] : assugé 96,17 (assuagé 149,11, on assoagier)

j) [u:ū]>[ū], [ǔ](?) : ronz 27,4, 130,12, rounz 14,9, 83,6

(<rotundus). esponde 19,12, esponté 105,10, esponterent 130,21, espuntez 66,7
(<espuunter<espaenter<^{*}expaventare);
sometimes the spellings aun, an are employed,
rendering uncertain the precise value of
this sound : espaunter 17,3 etc., espaunte 13,5, 49,10, espauntent 122,11, espante 78,4.

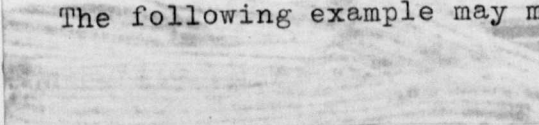
In a large number of cases the hiatus is apparently preserved : eg. seetes 1,15 etc. (<saietes<sagittas); poour 72,11 (pour 8,3 etc.); suour 14,2, suur 6,22; aeiser 141,19; and in verbal forms, as cheent 26,4, mescheeit 10,8, estraanz 91,22.

2. (P.1134). Effacement of inter-consonantal[ə] :

 arblaste 7,17 etc.
(for arbaleste<arcuballista), arblasters 36,15 etc.;
fra 22,21 etc., frunt 23,2, front 39,18 (forms with e are far more common in the text); regerdonez 16,16 (on O.F. guerredon; cf. M.E. guerdon).

3. (P.1135). Effacement of final post-consonantal[ə] :

The following example may merely be a graphical error:

 chos 33,16, for chose 2,22 etc.

4. Centralization of weakly stressed vowels :

Intertonic vowels are sometimes reduced to [ə] : philosophe 3,5, for philosophes 3,9 etc.; catefractes 22,13 etc. (<catafractas), vigerous 107,19, mangeneus 130,16 (O.F. mangonels), edefices 132,14; but chevotain 57,10 (O.F. chevetain, -aigne; cf. E. chieftain).

5. (P.1137). Weakening and slurring of initial syllables :

Syneresis of preposition and initial [a] is often in evidence :

après ce samblerent 118,11; cf. se assemblerent 118,23.

il s'acostument a saillir lor enemi 58,22; cf. e d'assail-
lir de pres lor enemi 58,15.

la monestement 88,11; cf. le amonestement 2,3 etc.

a monester 48,23, 87,1; cf. amoneste 72,9, amonesterent 47,4.

la vironement 37,4; cf. avirounement 73,20, 126,12.

les choses sunt avant assaier 92,10 (= a assaier).

a jouter 148,8, 150,9; cf. a ajouter 18,7.

les plient 134,19 (= L. applicant).

se force 136,14; cf. s'aforce 136,3.

Verbal forms with or without initial a- are used indiscriminately : joinz 41,9, joint 41,10, ajoint 41,11; porter 21,11 etc., aporter 28,6, etc.; partient 49,15, etc., apartient 31,8, etc. (See also p.76, 1, a))

eschuer 7,23 is written for e eschuer (cf. p.76 (2)).

6. (P.1138). Interchanging of prefixes :

ensemblez 71,17, assemblez 78,9, 93,4

environer 104,4, 77,8, avironer 104,14

enseur 25,18 etc., (= asseur)

enfeblir 37,8, (= afeblir), enfeblisoient 32,14

enseingner 5,17, asseingner 11,1

Forms of assaier (cf. 10,13, 15,6, 54,2, 59,2, 71,5) are often employed for less common essaier (essaia 14,17, essaierent 88,19).

enchesun 2,7 etc., encheison 37,2 etc. (= achoisson, ochoisson).

destreint 16,17 etc. and constreint are used non-differentially, (23,10 etc.).

7. (P.1139). Vocalic assimilation :

bosoing 6,12 etc., bosoyng 4,20, bosoigne 70,14 etc., bosoingne 5,4, 87,8.

surrurgiens 42,14 (cf. Mod.F. chirurgien, E. surgeon).

chalanger 72,10, 98,20 (challenger 91,7 etc., chalengent 100,13). Vaspasian 42,10. (but dissimilation in bredasche 128,9 etc., bretasche 127,13 etc. (cf. bredeschies 127,5)).

(iii). Vowels : other modifications

1. (P.1144). The passage of [ɔ]>[u], before [v] and effaced [s] :

Anglo-Norman and Continental French forms exist side by side in the text :

juvente 7,7, juvenceaus 1,7 for jovenceaus 1,11 etc.

oust 4,19 for ost 5,22 etc.; ajouster 18,7, 142,1, ajousté 137,10 for ajoster 81,18, ajosté 83,9 etc.; toust 68,16 etc. for tost 104,2 etc.; demoustre 41,19, 122,18, demustrer 113,23 for demostre 18,14, demostrer 41,21 etc.; custume 3,9 for costume 6,10 etc., costoume 52,17; sustance 146,7, soustendra 121,11 for sostance 55,11, sostendra 104,19. coust 35,3, 129,15; jouste 67,8 etc.

2. (P.1147). [ɛ]>[a] before [r] :

sarré 29,10, 99,3, marcherai 38,4; but serrez 101,9, merché 10,12, merchié 10,21, merchez 150,14, merc 59,5, merk 152,4.

3. (P.1151). Denasalization indicated by fall of prae-consonantal n :

Occasional instances of the fall of prae-consonantal n in the Fitzwilliam Vegetius seem to indicate a weakening, though perhaps not disappearance, of nasalization. The following

are isolated cases, and regular forms with n predominate.

costreint 17,15 for constreint 23,10 etc.

cobatanz 100,13 for combatanz 19,8 etc.

aucienes 78,5 for auncienes 3,7 etc.

aunciez 33,11 for aunciens 11,2

ferremez 45,16 for ferremenz 61,1 etc.

enseignemes 38,3 (for enseignemens, -menz)

On the other hand, in solempnement 36,10 and autompneles 146,17 we have isolated examples of the tendency to denasalize prae-consonantal [m] to [p].

4. (P.1152). Velarization of [ã] :

Examples are legion in the Fitzwilliam Vegetius; they are indicated by the spelling aun for an, which probably represents, as Pope suggests, the gradual velarization and rounding of the sound through [ã] to [œ]. The spelling an, however, persists strongly, probably owing as much to continental influence as to any conservatism on the part of the scribe-translator.

I have selected the following examples which show both forms :

haunter 1,11 etc., haunt 1,17 etc., hanter 30,12, 35,4, hant 17,18 etc. (cf. E. haunt); haunte 16,13 etc., hantes 17,12, 24,3 (< hanste); auns 58,8, 88,20, an 66,23, anz 32,12; taunt 30,21 etc., tant 10,13 etc.; autaunt 59,23, autant 59,24; saunz 67,10, sanz 13,2 etc.; espaunter 17,3 etc., espaunte 13,5, 49,10 (for forms in on, see p.78), espante 78,4;

daunter 49,14, danter 121,14 (cf. E. daunt); comaunder 29,22 etc., comander 29,20 etc.; estraunges 36,20 etc., estranges 19,19; devaunt 42,4 etc., devant 9,8 etc.; avaunt 68,19 etc., avant 7,10 etc.; graunt 53,22, grant 7,22 etc.; graundor 8,6, grandor 9,1.

Book I alone has a variety of spellings for ancien, etc.: aunciens 11,2, auncienes 3,7, aunciane 22,5, anciens 21,17, anciene 31,14, ancian 3,9; auncienement 24,4, auncianement 12,12, ancienement 4,14.

Often both forms are found in close proximity : eg. launcer les lances 48,17, poignanment ou trenchaunment 58,21, poignanment e trenchaunment 71,7, en mangaunt ou en bevant ou en dormaunt ou en reposant 91,20.

In some cases words are to be found in the one form only : abaundonné 6,21; sanc 18,12, 93,19, sank 5,11 etc., thisserant 9,6; etc.

One interesting form, braunés 8,20, derives from Continental French braion, braon (cf. E. brawny).

Velarization is not only in evidence before n, but also before m in the spelling aum, although examples are relatively infrequent :

ensaumple 4,4 for ensample 22,6 etc.; flaume 153,9; and in the adverbs trenchaument 15,12 etc. (trenchanment 15,14 etc., trenchaunment 58,21 etc.), estreinaument 38,4, soffisaumment 68,21.

5. (P.1153). Velarization of [a] before effaced [s] :

chaustel 19,18, chausteus 69,24 (chastel 85,25, 140,19, chastels 85,24 etc., chasteus 69,15 etc., chastelet 132,12); amaust 55,11 (gardast occurs in the same line); waust 130,3; auspresse 70,14 (L. asperitas; cf. aspres 97,12).

The analogical s in ascun (= aucun) was not pronounced, and probably was now used merely as a graphical device to denote lengthened velarized [a] (cf. P.1236) ; the sound is represented in several ways :

akun 8,8; aucun 56,10 etc., aucune 16,17 etc., aucuns 71,23; ascun 19,18 etc., ascune 10,5 etc., askune 6,15, askuns 10,16, ascunes 3,18; auscune 120,6.

Strangely, ascun-forms predominate in the first half of the text, whereas aucun-forms are far more frequent in the second half.

a is written au before f in Aufrike 93,15, 93,21, 117,21; but Affrike 4,11 etc.

(iv). Diphthongs and triphthongs

1. (P.1155). Reduction of [je] to [e], and [jē] to [ē] :

e is commonly written for Continental French ie in a variety of cases, the most important of which are detailed

below. This forms a marked feature of Anglo-Norman speech from the later twelfth century onward.

Forms based on the Latin suffix -arius, etc. :

charpenters 9,9, carpenters 46,3, bochers 9,9, conseiler 32,16, conseiller 66,15, chivalers 1,2 etc. (chivaliers 31,5), milers 40,18, miller 46,15, genver 146,18, morter 136,15, manere 1,2 etc., rivere 6,22, premere 40,3 etc. (premiers 99,17), legere 7,17 etc. (legiere 21,16), plenere 36,13, lumere 149,19; jugerres 11,12, volenters 113,1, volunters 3,17 (volentiers 146,5).

Cf. too the adverbial derivatives premerement 3,12 etc., legerement 13,2 etc. (legierement 12,23).

Other forms which may be noted :

chef 15,3 etc. (chief 25,11), derichef 14,12 etc. (derichief 33,20), get (s.m.) 142,11, pé 2,16 etc. (pié 7,17 etc.), petailles 22,7, terce 2,22 etc., terz 64,6 (tierce 49,23 etc., tiers 7,2 etc.), gref 61,12 etc., greve 23,11 etc., grefment 19,11, brevement 33,13, sege 69,6 etc. (siege 140,18), entere 51,5 etc., enferement 59,1, pere 19,7 etc. (pieres 99,22), mester 8,13 etc. (mestiers 28,18), archer 7,17 etc. (archiers 18,13 etc.), meité 30,22, dité 34,10 (<dictatum).

Verba: infinitives are commonly reduced :

repaier 2,2 etc., anguicer 6,17, juger 26,16, aider 29,6 etc., damager 29,12, bailer 20,3, chalanger 72,10, challenger 91,7, venger 144,13, aeiser 141,19, encercher 95,21, aoiter 105,14.

Similarly, past participles are reduced :

repaire 114,20, jugé 97,5, baillé 16,8 etc., taillé 8,7,
avoitee 88,10, prisé 8,8, mucé 76,21, entecché 40,18, assugé
 96,17, assuagé 149,11, percé 140,1, cerché 56,14, merché 10,12,
 (but merchié 10,21); justisez 44,11, haubergez 47,22, chaucez
 48,24; (but pronunciez 73,11).

Where vocalic alternation is common on the continent, the

diphthong is often reduced in Anglo-Norman :

conquert 4,25, requert 5,4, leve 74,12 etc., grevent 119,16,
chet (pr.ind.3) 138,12 etc. (but chiet (pr.subj.3) 140,2),
ferent (pr.subj.6) 143,7, refere (pr.subj.3) 134,1 (but fiert
 (pr.ind.3) 15,15 etc., fierge (pr.subj.3) 134,4).

Other verbal modifications :

percerent (pret.6) 134,10 (for percierent); asseger 129,3,
assege (pr.subj.3) 25,18 (but assiegent (pr.ind.6) 119,3).

[jē] is frequently reduced to [ē] in the text :

ren 3,11 (rien 25,14 etc.), ben 4,13 etc. (bien 4,20 etc.),
nen 33,10, nent 70,14, 125,3 (nient 39,8 etc.).

Here the phenomenon is best observed in verbal forms,
 although again there is much confusion, many words being
 spelt in both en and ien :

vent 82,3, (vient 10,18 etc.), avent 81,2 (avient 19,8 etc.),
covent 3,13 etc. (covient 7,8 etc.), apartenent 3,6 (par-
tiennent 2,5); venge 26,19 etc., vengent 36,4 (vienge 15,16 etc.,

viengent 67,13 etc., viengnent 62,11), avenge 14,4 (avienge 85,14 etc.), devenge 7,10 (deviengent 25,10); (but sostienge 70,15, sostiengent 108,15, parvienge 72,11; retieingne 53,15).
Note aveinent 82,15.

2. (P.1156). Reduction of [ûe] to [u] :

This reduction is observed with remarkable consistency throughout the text, [u] being written either u or o :

jofnes 7,6 etc. (jovenes 2,1 etc.), pople 18,18 etc., puples 94,12, demore 21,8 etc., demure 144,16, esprove 9,23 etc., ovre 28,19 etc., hoses 23,18, huses 51,3, 153,11 (but heoses 50,5; see P.1156 (iii).)

Continental French iluec is spelt in several ways :
iloc 43,17, illoc 111,6, illoke 154,8, illokes 55,4, illuc 108,11.

For verbs, see p.126.

3. (P.1157). Reduction of [âi] to [ɛ] :

The text shows many examples of the early levelling in Anglo-Norman of [âi] to [ɛ] : eg.

fere 4,4 etc., fet 3,10 etc., fete 9,23 etc. (faire 63,14 etc., fait 27,7 etc., faite 24,2 etc.), trere 18,10 etc. (traire 87,10 etc.), mestre 28,20 etc., mestrie 4,3, 64,11, lest 7,20, 81,13, lessent 71,4, 115,20 (lassent 99,1, 136,5, lasser 142,4), nest 101,45, 149,14, desplest 113,18, pessoient 115,3, mes 4,15 etc.

(mais 108,7), egre 30,20, (pl.) 25,10, egrement 16,5, sere-
ment(s) 37,16 etc., empetrer 144,11 (= empaistrer).

4. (P.1158). Reduction of [êi] to [ɛ] :

Reduced forms are common in the text for Francien creistre
and feible :

crestre 128,4, crest 88,10 etc. (creist 96,7), cresce 98,7,
cresse 91,16, cressant 152,11 (creissant 151,11);
feble 58,44, enfeblir 37,8, enfeblisoient 32,14; a diphthong-
ized form in ie (analogical, under Francien influence?) is
also found : fieble 110,9 etc., fieblesse 120,19).

5. (P.1159). Reduction of [âi] and [êi] to [ɛ] :

There is evidence of this reduction in the interchanging
of the spellings ein (eyn), ain (ayn) and en :

Romains 4,7 etc., Romayns 4,12, Romeins 4,14 etc., Romeyns 4,1;
main 24,20 etc., mein 23,3 etc. (< manum);
meins 5,11 etc., meyns 5,15, mains 59,9, mens 105,15 (< minus);
mendre 8,7 etc., meindre 35,12 etc.;
parmaint 94,13, parmeint 65,7; mainte 10,1 etc., meint 10,3;
gardain 84,13, gardein 45,2 etc.; vilain 6,14, vilein 6,23;
ens 48,2, ens ke 140,12, eins ke 86,17, 106,10, ein ke 86,17
(O.F. ainz (que) - *antius) (cf. the resultant homonym ens 53,2 etc.,

enz 82,13 <intus); ensi 3,15.

6. (P.1160-1). Reduction of [yi] to [y], and [ui] to [u] :

The levelling of the above diphthongs is a feature of the Anglo-Norman dialect which, in common with many other vowel-changes outlined in this chapter, is best observed in rhyme.

In the following examples graphical evidence is accepted for a phonological reduction already attested in the twelfth century :

pus 32,9 etc. (puis 6,19 etc.); destrure 103,9, 116,7, destrut (pr.ind.3) 107,11 etc., destruent (pr.ind.6) 139,9 etc., (pr. subj.6) 96,20 etc., destrus 22,15, destrutes 127,7 (but cf. destruit (pr.ind.3) 98,2 etc., the past participles destruit 112,17 etc., destruites 137,15, and the preterite 3. destruit 94,4); puz 142,12 (<podium); pertuz 127,17 (= pertuis); conduit (s.m.) 85,24 (conduit 85,21 etc.); frut 129,19 (= fruit); utime 28,10, utisme 31,7 etc. (= uitme); pussent (pr.subj.6) 25,6 (puissent (pr.subj.6) 25,5), and similar verbal forms passim.

Note the pres.subj.5. forms of pocir : possez 103,11, puisseez 103,16, pussez 103,21.

For graphical variants of the verbs suire 11,7 etc. (siure 114,24, 124,7) and eschuire 80,6 etc. (eschiure 89,19 etc.), and for the interchangeability of the spellings u, ui and iu, etc.,

see p. 106. Note the reduced forms sure 114,21 and eschure 115,10, 143,19 (cf. E. ensue, eschew).

There is some evidence of reduction to [i] in the nom. sing. use of celi 113,1 etc., for celui 23,6 etc., which latter form itself replaces the old nominative cil 7,1 etc.; similarly cf. icesti 104,14 for icestui 104,19.

conisaunt 8,11 is found for O.F. connoissant, connuissant (cf. conoissance 36,1).

7. (P.1163). Reduction of [âu] to [a] :

This reduction occurred before labial and labialized consonants in Later Anglo-Norman and is attested by the occasional spelling a for au in the text :

maveis 5,8, maveisement 98,13 (but malveis 10,18, 67,16, mal-veise 98,13), savoient 45,13 (but sauve 113,16, sauvable 25,15, sauvacion 60,17).

cause is written case 75,10, but causes 45,10; (cf. hauberc 23,4 etc., hauberks 19,9 etc.; chivaucher 35,20 etc.). The diphthong [âu], resulting from the vocalization of prae-consonantal [l], seems generally to have been maintained, although the graphy l often persists : eg. chivaus 1,18 etc., chevaus 117,19, chivals 8,16 etc., chevals 118,8; in one instance the final element of the diphthong is written -ul : chivauls 21,1 ; vocalization may not, therefore, have been complete.

travaus 6,8 etc., (travals 6,18 etc.), vassaus 5,6 etc.,
principaus 42,1, 50,4, haut 27,20 etc., hau 27,17 (halt 131,3
is a later addition to the MS.)

Note the indiscriminate use of au and al, as in au dereint
32,9, and al dereint 32,17.

8. (P.1162, 1164-5). [ɛ̃u], [eu] and [ʔɛ̃au] :

In the majority of cases the diphthongs appear to persist,
written eu (>[œ]?) : eg. veus 88,19, meus, teus, ceus, etc.,
passim; but there is some evidence that in certain cases a
glide sound is developed, as in beaus 76,9, beauté 83,8 etc.,
probably under continental influence.

[ɛ̃u] may occasionally be lowered to [au], although a
variety of spellings render precise definition hazardous.
In the case of jovençaus (= juvencels), analogy with constantly
recurring forms such as chivaus, vassaus, etc., may play some
part in the process.

jovençaus 5,6, 6,11, jovenceaus 1,11 etc., juvenceaus 1,6
(juvenceus 1,3); the spelling jovenceas 8,6 suggests that
vocalization of [l] is complete.

ignaus 10,14, 24,8, igneaus 12,15 (ignels 102,2, 102,9,
igneus 105,6, 111,12 = O.F. isnel).

Continental French [ʔɛ̃au] sometimes became [au] in Anglo-
Norman : cf. haumes 19,9 etc., haumez (p.p.) 47,22. Again,

the latter forms cannot be taken as conclusive evidence for this reduction, since there are other spellings to complicate the picture : heumes 23,18, heaumes 22,19 etc., heaumés (p.p.) 14,3.

9. (P.1166,68). [fu] and [ieu] :

lu 37,9 etc., is often found for liu 67,9 etc., and the many varied spellings of this word (see p. 106) indicate a probable pronunciation [lju].

siut 122,12 is found, together with suit 90,14 etc.; and riule 38,17, 93,16 with ruilles 64,20 etc.

grui 148,16 (= grieu < graecum) is found once.

10. (P.1169). [ueu] :

The spelling u for the earlier triphthong [ueu] seems to indicate a reduction to [u] in fu 127,10, 140,16 (< focu) ; but feu 127,17 etc.

A triphthong may be created by the vocalization of [l] : crueument 16,15; but this is generally avoided by the use of feminine forms :

cruelement 4,21, continuelement 79,4, 93,17, usuelement 73,16, assiduelement 71,2 (assiduelment 59,22).

**TEXT
CUT OFF IN THE
ORIGINAL**

(v). Glide developments

1. (P.1171). Vowels in hiatus :

Similarly, an intervocalic glide sound [w] is sometimes developed after rounded velar vowels :

lower (s.m.) 60,6, lowers 37,5 etc., lowables 72,12, allower (v.) 32,21 (but loer (s.m.) 16,19, louers 16,16, 43,23, loable 16,23, loer (v.) 113,3, loange 60,15); nowel 149,18, 150,3; couwes 131,7 (O.F. coës < caudas); (but poer 44,17 (s.m., on *potere) = E. power).

2. (P.1173). v,f,t,d+r :

A vocalic glide sound [ə] is often developed between [v] and [r] :

feveres 9,9, poveres 88,2, leveres 140,5, liveret 31,12, recoveryment 100,3, overe 35,4, overaine 11,10 etc., overors 84,13, overours 84,17,

(but fevres 2,14 etc., livre 3,6 etc., ovre 28,19 etc.

The phenomenon is most frequently observed in verbal forms, notably future and conditional, detailed on p. 124.

(vi). Consonants

1. (P.1177). Substitution of [ð] for [s] :

entremedlé 58,17, medleront 132,22 (O.F. mesler <*misculaire; cf. E. meddle). In two cases the d is added above the line : medllé 91,15, 102,13.

More common are forms with neither d nor s : mellé 18,19 mellez 66,11 etc., entremellés 79,4.

2. (P.1179). Vocalization of prae-consonantal [ɹ] :

Although vocalization of prae-consonantal [ɹ], as on the continent, is by now general, the existence of forms such as chivauls 21,1 suggests a late persistence of the consonant sound in certain cases. (see pp. 90-91).

3. (P.1180). Persistence of [w] :

ewe 6,6 etc., eweors 132,8 (cf. E. ewer), waust 130,3, (guastee 55,5; cf. E. waste), waier 61,23, waiouses 152,16 (gué 81,4, 81,6; cf. E. wade), wasseus 67,8 (cf. O.F. gaische <gaschier, on Germ. waskan > E. wash).

In owel, etc. the w seems to be a graphy for [v] : owel 72,7 (= O.F. ivel), owele 47,17, 106,12, owels 97,12, 128,3, owelement 30,22, 81,13; (ouvel 108,10, ovelement 13,15, 14,13, ouvelement 36,7, ovest(?) 149,15). Similarly, w = [v] in wacranz 106,18 (cf. E. vagrants) and weilles 85,16 (veilles 73,11).

4. (P.1181). Persistence of [tʃ] and [dʒ] :

Both [tʃ] and [dʒ] were part of the Northern and Western French sound-system at the time of the Conquest. They were also current in the Early Middle English sound-system, together with [ʃ] and [ʒ], to which they were ordinarily reduced in Francien. Evidence of the late persistence of [tʃ] is found in the occasional spelling cch :

entecché 40,18, peccher 72,8, ecchapez 80,21, flecchissent 103,2 (but techelé 151,15, eschaper 133,5, eschapa 93,21; and e.g. eschele 23,20 etc.).

More remarkable, however, is the representation of the sound [tʃ] (?) by j : jose 18,6 (chose 2,22 etc.), japitre 7,2, 40,1 (chapitre 5,23 etc.; cf.E. chapter).

Elsewhere, graphical confusion renders the definition of these sounds more difficult, as in echaunchable 53,12, entrechaunjabable 74,11, chaungé 73,16, where there are three different symbols (ch, j, g) for [dʒ] ([ʒ]?).

5. (P.1182). [ŋ]^{*} :

Although the sounds [ʁ] and [ŋ] had generally been modified to [l] and [n] preceded by a palatal glide, there is graphical evidence in the text for the persistence of [ŋ], perhaps influenced by continental forms : eg.

compaignie 38,14 etc., compaignies 2,10 etc. (compaynies 2,16, 56,6, compainie 26,2 etc.), seyngnor 33,17, seingnors 54,19,

* I.P.A. [ɲ]

seignorir 33,18, seignorie 38,7, 39,12.

For further examples, and for the confusion of n, gn, ngn, see p. 107.

6. (P.1203). Unsupported final [s]([z]) :

The effacement of unsupported final [s] in prae-consonantal position within the phrase and subsequent graphical confusion is illustrated by the following selected examples :

de le seetes 18,2, le soudent 135,6 (= les soudent), garni de haumes 22,9 garnis...des haumes 19,9, par cri de busynes ou des corns 119,18, ces des citez e de chastels 133,3, les chivalers de centeines e des compaignies 54,10, Nun pas solement as jovenes chivalers mes a chivalers soudeors 20,18.

Similarly, de and des are confused before initial vowels : eg. enseingner d'armes 5,17, aprendre de armes 6,16, enseigne de armes 4,24, apris des armes 5,6.

7. Unsupported final [r] :

There is some evidence of unsupported final [r] after [a] being effaced in certain monosyllabic words :

ca 19,7, ka 36,13, and pa 153,1, which are prae-consonantal within the phrase, and ka 8,12, which is followed by a vowel sound [i] (the r is retained graphically except in these cases ; kar 3,11 etc., car 18,16 etc., par 4,2 etc.).

8. Final supported consonants :

Final supported [t], in both prae-consonantal (P.1202) and prae-vocalic position within the phrase, is often effaced, as attested by the following spellings :

nen 33,10, doun 124,5, ar 126,11, devaun 84,20 (but nent 70,14, 125,3, dount 8,17, art 18,11 etc., devaunt 42,4 etc.). Cf. too such plural forms as ars 3,10 etc., enfauns 78,15 (and many others in -ans, -auns), vers 130,18 (< virides), vens 148,12 (venz 148,14 etc.).

gen and gent are frequently interchanged, as in gent a pé 68,1 and gen a chival 68,3.

Final supported [p] is effaced in cham 100,14 (but champ 20,3 etc.)

Final supported [k] is retained graphically, and the occasional spelling donkes 61,18, 80,11, for dunk 7,25 etc., indicates its retention in speech in this word at least.

9. Metathesis of [r] :

Metathesis of [r], a characteristic shared by certain other dialects of Old French, is common in the text in forms of the verb prendre⁹⁴) :

pernoms 11,2, pernent 23,11 etc., pernoient 24,6;

(aprendre :) aperneient 4,21, apernoient 21,5;

(susprendre :) suspernent 128,9;

and in related substantives : apernors 46,3, mespernanz 91,9, 115,18.

10. Assimilation :

Consonantal assimilation occurs in
arblil 141,2.

(vii). Influence of continental dialects

1. (P.1188). Francien [ô] for [é], [e], [ɛ] :

Later Anglo-Norman was subject to ever-increasing influences from the speech-habits of the growing French capital and its province. This fact must be held to account for the frequent spelling oi (oy) (representing the diphthong [ô] ?) for ei in the text :

adroyt 3,11, droyture 4,17 (adreit 25,16 etc., dreiture 38,17, 54,10), porquoi 13,15 (purquei 5,10), voie 13,1 etc., (veie 75,17 etc.), foiz 6,11 etc., soventefoyz 3,17, soventefoiz 24,2 (fez 27,2 etc., feiz 47,31, soventefez 13,17 etc.), foi 31,11. Cf. too the verbal endings -eit, -eient, which are often replaced by -oit, -oient.

Generally, ei-forms persist strongly, as the following examples indicate :

veil 34,16, preie 60,12, 91,12, seif 116,15, espleit 70,15 etc.,

leisir 76,11, lei 149,9, ley 98,14, (pl.) 57,12, peis 14,13 etc.
(= poids), freid 141,2, meis 30,12 etc., esteile 149,14, (pl.)
150,12, esteilles 150,7, 150,22.

Note cointes 53,17, quointe 141,16, cointise 18,7, queintes 49,5,
queintise 52,9.

2. (P.1189). Francien [i^he], [j^he] for [e] :

An attempt to re-introduce the diphthong [i^he] or its
reduced form [j^he] may be assumed from a great many spellings
in ie throughout the text :

eg. [pieres 99,22 (peres 1,16 etc.); etc.]
(nasalized :) bien 4,20 etc. (ben 4,13,etc.), rien 25,14 etc.
(ren 3,11 etc.).

See pp. 85-7.

3. (P.1200). Picard ; raising of [e] (ə) to [i] :

There are numerous instances of the raising of counter-
tonic and intertonic [e], notably when close to palatal con-
sonants :

chival 18,11 etc., chivaus 1,18 etc., chivalers 1,2 etc.,
chivalerie 1,1 etc., chivaucher 35,20 etc., chivaucherie 123,17
(but chevaus 117,19, chevals 118,8, chevalerie 4,3 etc.);
fie 27,3 etc. (= fië, fië < *vicata; cf. P.422); comparison 124,9.

In the following examples the influence of Latin forms

must not be disclaimed :

perçoûz 94,17, perçoûsement 17,8, 28,21 (L. pigritia),
dignité 44,16, 84,19, dignitez 42,1 etc. (L. dignitas),
signifiance 36,6 (on L. significare), diversifier 151,11
(L.L. diversificare); but pereçous 7,10 etc., pereçousement
38,5, digneté 40,4, 90,8, dignetez 45,9 etc., signefient 74,17,
diversefiance 120,3. Note too ordinez 22,19 etc.

occasionem > enchison in the rubric to p.37; otherwise
> enchesun 2,7, encheison 37,2 etc.

Note too matire 59,16, 133,16, gitter 1,16 etc., where
the tonic vowel is raised.

Verbal forms in -eiller, -ailler, etc. are often raised :

apariler 106,10, aparilé 38,8, aparilee 66,2, aparilez 33,7 etc.
(but apareiler 79,18, apareilé 5,16, apareilez 46,6), reparillee
51,6 (but reparailer 120,17, repareilé, reparailee 107,16, 120,9,
reparaillez 70,19), esparpiller 122,1, esparpilez 78,9, des-
parpilez 70,6 (but esparpeiler 100,17), consilé 122,12.

ORTHOGRAPHY

1. (P.1210). Representation of final [ð] by d :

This characteristic of early Anglo-Norman has some legacy in the spellings ad 10,23 etc.,(< habet), and od 6,19 etc.,(< apud). That the retention of the final consonant is in both cases merely graphical is attested by the occasional spelling a 9,16 etc., and the more frequent o or ou 24,3 etc. (On the correction od for ou, see p. 134).

2. (P.1213). The digraph eo :

The spelling eo in neof 28,2 is probably an attempt to represent the sound [œ], elsewhere represented variously : nef 24,18, noef 100,14, nofisme 41,10.

The influence of this English scribal tradition may contribute to the persistence of the demonstrative form ceo 4,4 etc. ([se] ? see P.1248).

The digraph occurs once more in heoses 50,5. Other spellings, hoses 23,18, huses 51,3, 153,11, make the value of this sound difficult to assess.

3. (P.1214). Retention of ew and iw :

The English digraph ew is to be found frequently in the form ewes 12,4 etc.; iw occurs once only : eschiwent 153,1.

4. (P.1215). The digraph th :

Under the influence of English scribal tradition, th is sometimes written for [θ] :

north 5,14, Gothes 22,6, Gotheis 22,16, Keneling Worthe 115,5.

In thisserant 9,6, its value is probably [t].

5. (P.1217). Doubled consonants :

There are a great many examples of the Anglo-Norman predilection for the doubling of consonant letters. The following examples provide a good illustration :

i) bb for b : obbli 93,13, dobbles 147,9 (oblier 35,5, obliaunce 32,9, doble 14,13 etc.).

ii) cc for c : occire 26,6, occis 92,4, 138,2, occisions 120,16 (ocire 5,2). cch : see p.95.

iii) dd for d : reddement 111,14.

iv) ff for f : deffendues 61,17, Affrike 4,11 etc., Affrican 18,16, soffre 115,9 (defenduz 15,17, Aufrike 93,15, 117,21, sofre 26,17).

v) kk for k : sekke 140,14; ck : secke 132,23, 152,16 (= Mod. F. sèche).

vi) ll for l : mellé 18,19, mellez 66,11 etc., entremellés 79,4.

vii) mm for m : jammeis 67,2, plommez 50,17 (plomez 50,7, jameis 77,3, 123,13, jamés 35,5 etc.).

viii) nn for n : ennoieuse 53,16 (<L.L. inodiosa).

ix) rr for r : gerres 88,19 (= O.F. gaires), verrute 50,13
(< verutum), verraies 16,3, verraiment 122,2,
considerrrer 63,11, serra 7,20 etc., serrunt
2,18 etc., dirra 92,19, esterront 51,12, irront
42,19 etc., ferru 19,10, garris 67,18,
(geres 94,21, veraument 11,11 etc., considerer
75,18, 86,9, sera 30,1 etc., serunt 2,8 etc.,
dira 92,18, esteront 99,13, garir 42,14).

x) ss for s : ressonent 57,11 (on L. resonare).

xi) tt for t : settisme 50,23, vergettes 14,7, 14,10,
Ottovien(?) 3,16, gitter 1,16 etc.
(setisme 41,6, 111,20, disesetisme 20,1,
discetisme 20,16, giter 20,15 etc., geter
17,15 etc.).

This doubling of consonant letters, generally attributable to English scribal tradition, may sometimes stem from Latin forms :

eg. occire, etc. (<L. occidere>^aaucidere), mettre 3,9 etc.,
lettire 42,3 (on the continent often spelt with a single t), etc.

Occasionally, however, Latin double consonant derivatives have only the single consonant :

tere 3,13 (terre 3,14), coure 7,9 (courre 12,17), quere 97,13
(querre 120,1), ocasion 142,7, opidans 142,9.

6. (P.1218). Latin spellings :

Latin spellings are bound to be common in a text which is translated from a Latin original; the vocabulary itself tends to be archaic (eg. many of the Latin names for machines of war are left untranslated).

Among forms influenced by Latin spellings are auctor 1,1 etc., auctur 6,1 etc. (but autor 8,5 etc.), jovenes 2,1 etc. (but jofnes 3,2 etc.), sanité 67,5 etc. (saunté 49,16 etc.), effect 36,2, 56,20 ; etc.

7. (P.1220,25). The digraph ou :

The sound [u] is variously represented o, u, ou (cf. p.81).

The digraph ou occurs relatively frequently :

oures 12,10, houres 85,9, 152,3, heure 98,7 (hure 80,6, ures 12,13, hores 86,14, 152,12), favour 60,7, labour 59,23, auctours 38,10 (auctor 1,1 etc., auctur 6,1 etc.), errour 17,7 etc. (error 58,18 etc.), lour 17,11 (lur 3,10 etc., lor 8,17 etc.), doute (pr.ind.3) 25,11 (dute (pr.ind.3) 4,22; doter 4,13, dotous 149,8), touz jourz 62,10 (toz jorz 25,1, tuz jurs 5,1).

Cf. too many adjectival endings -ous, -ouse, and adverbs in -ousement, which almost entirely replace forms in o .

Similarly, there are the nasalized forms oum and oun :

noumbre 58,8, noumbree 54,8, (nombre 26,17 etc., sornombres 54,21), poumes 129,19 ; Catoun 17,5 18,13, Bretouns 147,15, noun 35,6

(non 35,4, nuns 2,20), mounde 139,3 (monde 144,16, munde 4,2),
ount 16,17, vount 91,22, fount 54,12 ; etc.

8. (P.1222-24). Representation of the [e] sounds :

In later Anglo-Norman confusion between the symbols e,
ai, ei, ie, oi (and sometimes eo), largely due to the reduction
of diphthongs and to the influence of certain continental forms,
had become common and had given rise to a number of homonyms.
The tendency of Anglo-Norman scribes to substitute y for i
adds to the number of spellings used to represent these [e]
sounds :

pes 24,12 etc., peis 10,23 etc., peys 21,9, pies 10,2 (<pacem);
pés 27,18 etc., pez 14,21 etc. (<pedes; cf. pié 7,17 etc.);
peis 14,13 etc. (<pensum);
pais 11,9 etc., pays 5,5 (<pagensis).

fes 6,13, feis 13,12 (<fascem); fes 16,21 (s.m.pl.<factum).

The reduced form fez 27,2 etc. may be a reduction of fiez 19,16
etc., where ie is in hiatus (see p.99), or alternatively a
graphy for feiz 48,12, foiz 6,15 etc., feiez 10,2.

soleil 5,8, soleyl 5,14, solail 6,14 etc.;

camayls 64,16, camels 116,1, 116,3.

Similarly, there are various spellings for [ẽ] < [ãĩ] , [éĩ] :

meins 5,11 etc., meyns 5,15, mains 59,9, mens 105,15, mein 111,4
(<minus); main 24,20 etc., mein a mein 117,2 (<manum),
mains 19,4 etc. (<manos).

Bien (ben) is once written been 95,18; and ceel 69,24 (< salem), elsewhere written siel 132,18 etc., also occurs once only.

9. (P.1227). Confusion of u, ui, iu, etc. :

The symbols u, ui and iu are often interchangeable (see also pp.89-90) :

eg. nuiz 22,20 (for nuz 22,8, 23,4<nudos), puist (imp.subj.3) 31,4, puissent (imp.subj.6) 46,10.

In certain forms there is even greater divergence in spellings; so that for O.F. lieu the text has liu 22,3, lyu 1,22, lu 37,9, leu 26,10, lui 27,6; (pl.) lius 19,16, liuz 112,13, lus 75,14, leus 5,7, leuz 26,8, lues 75,16, luis 79,19, leuis 26,21.

Similarly, milu 49,24, miliu 77,14, milui 112,9, mileu 50,24, milleu 41,10.

With verbs in-uire,-iure, etc., there is similar confusion :
suire 11,7, suir 73,25, siure 114,24, sure 114,21, suit (pr. ind.3) 90,14, siut (pr.ind.3) 122,12, sue (pr.subj.3) 77,15, suiant (pr.subj.6) 92,23, suirent (pret.6) 48,2, siurent (pret.6) 52,5, suerent (pret.6) 52,7, suera (fut.3) 107,19, suireit (cond.3) 73,7;
eschuire 65,23, eschiure 89,19, eschuir 8,1, eschure 115,10, escheure 79,2, eschuer 7,23, 146,19 ; etc., (eschiwent 153,1).
fuir 84,14 etc. (< fodere), foient (pr.ind.6) 140,5, enfuient (pr.ind.6) 140,13,

fuir 5,3 etc., fuer 79,9 (<fugere), fuanz 52,7, fuianz 64,13, enfuit (pr.ind.3) 64,19, enfuie (pr.subj.3) 119,11.

L. fuit > fu 3,9, feu 30,13, fui 45,2; passim.

For O.F. vuit (<*vocitum), the text has void 93,2; and for the past participle vuidié, it has veudé 83,15.

noit occurs once (80,13) for nuit 25,22 etc.

The text's deleuerunt is translated on 94,2 by destrosseient (impf.ind.6 of destrure 103,9,116,7) ≠ destrosser "to plunder".

10. (P.1230). n, gn, ngn :

These symbols are often interchangeable, a circumstance largely due to the modification of the palatal [ɲ] (see p. 95) :

greingnur 12,18, greignur 26,19, greinor 17,14, greynor 120,9, grenor 65,20 ; ligne 33,18 etc., lygne 39,13, line 143,11, linage 9,16, 46,17 ; montaingne 26,13, montaignes 34,22, montaines 19,17 etc.

A non-etymological g is introduced (≠ bosoigne 70,14 etc.) and signe 8,21 etc.?) into busigne 57,7, busoigne 57,8 (< bucina), bosignors 57,3; but busines 42,21 etc., busyne 57,10, bosines 89,6.

gn is written throughout for sn in ignel 53,19, 99,8, ignels 102,2, 102,9, igneus 105,6, 111,12, ignaus 10,13, 24,8, igneaus 12,15, ignelement 12,6. Note the converse visnes 62,6 (< vineas) and montaisnes 78,23 (= montaignes; see above).

11. (P.1231). Representation of [s] :

The symbols s, c, z, ss, sc interchange frequently :

ce 13,9 etc. (= se), ces 7,21 etc. (= ses); seuz 21,2 ;
se 65,20, 137,19 (= ce), ses 139,3 (= ces), ises 36,8 (= ices);
set 4,23, cet 4,13, cevent 6,12, sevent 6,7 ;
seit 6,24, ceit 10,22 ; assez 103,16, asez 69,6, acez 66,12 ;
puisant 101,4 (= puissant 89,19); puisser 132,4 (= puiser);
adressé 135,1, adrescé 24,20, adrecez 143,3 ;
dars 7,23, darz 17,14 ; sans 22,21, sanz 23,1.

Confusion between final -s and -z is best illustrated by the sequence tuz jors 4,11, tuz jorz 12,7, tous jors 18,5, tus jorz 29,15, which shows a complete permutation of the final consonants.

In positions where [s] has generally become mute, it is sometimes maintained graphically to denote lengthened [ɛ], as in estre 2,9, mesmes 29,11; etc., or lengthened velarized [a], as in ascun, etc. (see p. 84).

12. Final -s :

Although final [s] in certain cases may commonly be effaced, it is sometimes maintained graphically :

vers 13,4, envers 138,16, fors 14,17 etc., hors 75,17 etc.;
(ver 42,17 etc., dever 5,14, for 5,2 etc.).

Final -s is preserved in minus-derivatives, with one

exception : mein 111,4.

sen 5,19 and sens 5,12 are both found.

Final -s is often represented by z : eg. richez 4,12, chosez 147,21.

13. Final -t :

Unsupported final -t falls in secré 102,5, privé 115,18, 140,4⁹⁵).

A non-etymological -t is introduced in au dereint 32,9 and al dereint 32,17.

Similarly, -t is added in out, in the locution par out 13,18, where the following word begins with a consonant; and in par out 21,13, this time prae-vocalic.(<ubi)⁹⁶).

14. Representation of [k] :

k and c are frequently interchanged; a). in final position : sank 5,11 etc., sanc 19,12, 93,19, cink 12,10, cinc 12,13 etc., merk 152,4, merc 59,5, hauberk 142,16, hauberc 23,4, dunk 8,2, donec 6,16 etc.

b). initially :

kar, car, passim; kom 10,13, com 3,15 etc.

c). within the word :

askun, ascun, etc.; onkore 43,23, oncore 44,1.

qui, que appear comparatively rarely in the text, ki, ke being the most common forms. On the other hand kant 7,5 etc. is rare, the form most generally used being quant.

Note unkes 6,20 etc., aukes 26,11, 96,14, donkes 61,18, 80,11 ; there are no parallel qu- forms.

qe 95,5 (= que) occurs once only, as does geus 120,21 (= queus).

L. carpentarios > carpenters 46,3, charpenters(s) 9,9, 46,10⁹⁷).

15. Initial h :

An h is introduced initially in habundent 17,1, habundunce 5,18, and halegre 52,9, 118,14.

16. an and en : 98)

In some cases the symbols an and en are interchanged :

aunciens 11,2, anciene 31,14, ancienement 4,14, ancian 3,9, aunciane 22,5, auncianement 7,5; sank 5,11, senglantes 133,4;

There is one spelling Engletere 4,6.

17. y for i :

Stimming notes that the graphy y for i becomes frequent in Anglo-Norman manuscripts in the second half of the thirteenth century.⁹⁹⁾ It is often to be found in the Fitzwilliam Vegetius :

eg. lyu 1,22, ayde 2,3, ly 3,16, luy 3,16, batayle 4,19, ley 98,14, roy 118,1, yde de may 150,4.

18. Confusion of m and n : 100)

m is sometimes written n before p :

empirement 120,5, enporte 13,18, enporter 108,22, enporterent 89,22, enprendre 11,10, enpris 6,20, 122,13, inpunité 72,7, inpossible 93,10 ; but empirement 66,21, 82,4 ; both nonper 84,10, 102,8 and nomper 122,18 are found.

In other positions, the following mutations may be noted :

em champ 59,8 (en champ 59,17), remenbrer 96,10, con costume 69,3 (= com c.).

19. Assimilation :

There is a tendency in the text to assimilate within the phrase. In Book I, where we find commonly juvenceus 1,3, juvenceaus 1,6, jovenceaus 1,11 etc., there occurs in two places only the plural spelling -aus, where vassaus stands in direct apposition :

les vassaus e les jovençaus 5,6, vassaus e jovençaus 6,11.

Similarly, bataille navaille 152,19 is written once for bataille navele 152,12, 153,5.

In pereçous, the raising of the intertonic vowel may on two occasions derive from the analogical influence of perissent, which stands in proximity : cf. periçouz 94,17, periçousement 17,8 (but see also p. 100).

20. O.F. desque and tresque :

These two forms are confused and give rise to the following spellings :

deske 20,8, deskes,31,21, dekes 4,6 ; dreske 10,13, dreke 85,10, dreskes 85,11, drekes 11,9.

21. L. apud, ab hoc :

Seven forms are used in the text to express E. "with" :

od 6,19, o 15,1, ou 17,13, oue 52,22, ovek 61,2, oveke 3,4 ; (ouk 61, Title).

22. Confusion of f and v :¹⁰¹⁾

jovene 2,1 etc., jofne 3,2 etc.

estové 68,19 (= O.F. estofé) is written ≠ estover 68,18.

cotefier 39,13, cotefie 151,20, coutefierent 90,10,

cotivé 124,16.

MORPHOLOGY

(i) Substantives and adjectives (P.1242-6).

Final consonants + flexional s :

Graphical restoration of the final consonant of the uninflected radical before flexional s is a common feature of Anglo-Norman and is illustrated in the text by the following plural forms :

nerfs 8,11 etc., hauberks, hauberks 19,9 etc., truncs 27,16, corns 57,2, 57,13, verms 146,12¹⁰²), estrifs 92,2; greys 12,7; but pors 129,11 (< porcos), draz 74,3, estris 145,12 (sing.?); udis 142,8, lons 61,25, 141,1.

The reduction of [ts] to [s] causes confusion, and we find such plural forms as fors 102,1 and forz 102,7, vens 148,12, venz 148,14, avauncemens 69,19, avauncemenz 56,1, combatans 23,20, combatanz 19,8.

Plurals of words ending in -st are variously resolved :

ost : nom. ost 10,1, oz 66,1 ; acc. ost 44,10, 57,14, ostz 67,1.
provost : nom. provoz 47,2, 66,13 ; acc. provost 45,7, 46,20.
fust : acc. fusts 81,23 etc., fustz 128,15, 130,11.
prest : nom. prest 5,2 etc.

Analogical ending -[ə] in feminine adjectives :

The use of the feminine adjective ending -[ə] is extended, as in breve 4,8, greve 23,11, tele 6,20, mortele 15,19, forte 21,16, coraunte 137,8, pesante 24,14, 137,12, devantes 151,9 ; although there are many exceptions, as in mortel plaie 19,12, gref armeure 61,12, grant (f.) passim.

The picture is generally a confusing one where feminine endings are concerned, with both agreement and non-agreement of past participles : eg. une multitudine...ke est joint 107,4, commune bataille est jointe 108,2 ; with the fall of the feminine adjective ending -[ə], as in legers batailles 66,10 ; and with feminine adjective forms in apposition to masculine nouns : eg. barbulos assises* 20,12, lius perrouses* 19,16, lius...patentes 97,14, al lu ke est cros e parfonde 137,13.

* Perhaps this is a graphical device to differentiate the masc. plur. from the masc. sing. assis, perrous.

Disintegration of declension :

Accusative forms are generalized, masculine plurals in -s being regular in both nominative and accusative cases : eg. nom. les bons philosophes 3,19, les Romains 4,16 ; etc. (but le chivaler (acc.pl.) 122,1),

In the singular there is rather more confusion. Nominatives are frequently replaced by accusative forms in the text, as in le jovene chivaler 15,8, le jovenceal 1,10 ; etc.; but traditional flexional endings are often maintained, as in chescuns jovenceaus 8,2, li bons enseingneres 11,13.

Every possible combination of the old nominative and accusative forms is to be found in li auctors 13,13, le auctors 65,1, li auctor 5,1, le auctor 1,1 , nom. sing. throughout; (the article sometimes being elided, as in l'autor 8,5, l'auctur 12,1).

An analogical flexional s is found in empereres 3,16; emperere 3,6 fulfils an accusative function; the singular empereor 39,14 and emperor 39,18 are employed as nominatives, empereour 31,9, 144,1 and empereor 33,10 etc. as vocatives.

[Graphical] effacement of final -s in the plural of adjectives standing before their nouns is quite common :

tote maneres 58,6 etc. (totes maneres 7,19 etc.), tele maneres 92,2, diverse encheisons 37,8, plusor choses 73,4, certeine mesures 107,3, petite choses 26,19, humaine pensers 120,17, certein jours 150,13, cointe dustres 75,19 ; etc.

Gender :

The gender of certain words sometimes shows itself to be unstable. I take the following random examples :

sa art 107,17, la...art 87,2, les bones ars 3,10, le art 124,4, 148,11; totes ces choses 4,15, tuz ces choses 31,10; teu manere 8,2 etc., tele manere 15,6 etc., du legion 16,19, la legion 2,9; le bredasche 128,9, la bredasche 136,21.

(ii). Personal pronouns (P.1248-51).

First person :

Both je 7,13 etc. and jo 6,24 are found.

Second person :

There is sometimes confusion between tu and vous forms ;
for examples, see p. 127.

Third person :

Both ele 9,13 etc. and el 24,19 are found.

Ele is frequently replaced by il : la quel arme quant el
est fiché en l'escu ne puet estre trenché, e si il seit
il depece 24,18 et seq.; for further examples, see 27,6-7,
28,4, 66,3, 93,8, 130,19, etc.

The stressed form sei may be substituted for unstressed se¹⁰³⁾
eg. de sei defendre 58,15, eins ke il sei puisse apariler 106,10.

Lui and li are sometimes confused, as in il luy ebaist la
veue e li espaunte le quor 13,4. (Similar confusion may be
noted in the demonstratives, eg. celi ki suit 116,3, celui
ki suit 116,9).

The unstressed feminine accusative pronoun la is sometimes
replaced by le : cf. 96,4, 103,6, 132,19, etc.

(iii). Article (P.1252-3).

La > le :

There is some evidence in the text of the reduction of the feminine definite article [la] to [lə] : eg. le esleccion 9,22, le sanité 67,5, le une partie 115,7.

Persistence of li :

The masculine singular definite article li is occasionally preserved in the nominative : li jovenceal 1,9, li jovencel 1,19, li auctor 3,17 etc., li cors 7,10, li vilein 6,23, li citeins 6,23 ; etc.; but it is generally replaced by le.

Li is extended to the accusative singular in li home 4,22.

The accusative plural les is generalized, and nominative plurals in li are therefore rare (cf. ly autres bons empereors 3,16, li autre de Grece 11,6).

Enclitic forms :

The most common enclitic forms to be found in the text are del 1,17, du 3,6, des 1,23, al 5,11, au 15,3, as 3,11, nel 10,19. Rare are deu 16,8, nes 14,20 (= ne les), kes 13,13 (= ke les 14,8), es 11,9 (= en les?), el 139,3 (= en le 30,13).

These forms are occasionally replaced by separate words : eg. de les 20,19, de le 18,2 (= de les), a les 16,15, ne le 139,6 (= ne les) ; this is characteristic of Later Anglo-Norman.

(iv). Demonstrative pronouns (P.1254-8).

Cel, icel, etc., both with and without initial i, are common in the text : eg. cel 6,4 etc., iceu 26,17, cele 15,1 etc., icele 15,7 etc., ceus 2,19 etc., iceus 18,5 etc.

Forms without initial i predominate; this is also the case with cest 13,13 etc., ceste 10,23 etc.

i persists initially in icestui 43,13 etc., icesti 104,14.

The feminine plural cestes, replaced by cez in most of the dialects of Continental French, persists in 11,7, 13,2.

The masculine nominative singular cist, icist occurs rarely (12,14, 65,4).

The nominative singular cil 7,1 etc. persists, but, with the exception of cius 37,10, is completely replaced in the plural by accusative forms : eg. ceus 2,19 etc.

Confusion between ceus and ces is often apparent :
eg. ceus ke les eslisoient e ces ki les esproveient... i ajos-
teient ceus ki estoient refusez e ces ki n'esteient pas dignes
10,5 et seq., prendre ceus ke sunt profitable e oster ces ki
nel sunt pas 10,19.

(v). Relative and interrogative pronouns (P.1262).

The two examples quoted at the foot of p. 118 serve also to exemplify the confusion of ki and ke in the text.

ke is frequently written for the nominative relative ki :
eg. la gent ke sunt de nacion dever le north e ke sunt loynteng
5,13, le ost ke fu a pé 22,9 ; for further examples, see 5,11,
7,1, 13,20, etc. Conversely, we find ke je die veralement e
leaument ce ki Caton...escrit 11,11.

ke il 22,17, 123,1 and k'il 23,1 are written for ki (cf. P.841).

The spellings qui, que are rare.

(Similarly, ki is often written for the conjunction ke :
cf. 4,1, 31,13, 51,14, 60,1, etc.; issi ki 27,22, mes ki 38,18.)

(vi). Indefinite pronouns.

ascun and aucun occur frequently (cf. p. 84, and P.1263);
akun 8,8 and auscune 120,6 occur once only.

chescun 3,8 etc. is commonly written for O.F. chascun¹⁰⁴).
tuit, the masculine plural nominative generally replaced
by toz, touz, etc., is found once only (84,6).

on is written on 18,5, om 1,2, (l')en 95,1, (l')em 1,8¹⁰⁵).

(vii). Verbs

1. (P.1272). First person plural :

In the present indicative, the common Western French termination -om is used generally in the text :

avom 7,12 etc., trovom 9,10, apelom 24,21, usom 43,8, repeirom 58,2, devom 80,4 etc., quidom 80,7, 80,14, dotom 93,6, poom 93,12, diom 100,18, jujom 121,6.

In the present subjunctive, Western French endings also predominate :

puissom 80,22, mettom 93,12; assoium 22,3, poum 93,6;
esperom 110,12.

Note too the future forms : mosterom 129,2, dirom 149,7.

In three cases the termination -oms (-ums), more common in Francien, is preferred :

volums (pr.ind.) 11,7, pernoms (pr.subj.) 11,2, demosteroms (fut.) 133,13.

2. (P.1275). Subjunctive termination -ge :

The text frequently exemplifies the late persistence in Anglo-Norman of the western ending -ge in the present subjunctive, notably after radicals ending in -n or -r :

vienge 15,16 etc., venge 26,19, viengez 109,6, 110,12, viengent 67,13 etc., vengent 36,4, avienge 85,14 etc., avenge 14,4, deviengent 25,10, parvienge 12,11, sorvienge 49,18; tiengent 36,16, sostienge 70,15, sostiengent 108,15; prenge 69,6, 91,11, prengent 25,9, aprenge 48,23, 68,7, aprengent 58,21, mesprenge 84,14; doinge 141,20. querge 123,8, enquerge 87,4; fierge 134,4; courgent 108,15, recourge 56,13, decourge 84,11; morgent 130,5; demurgent 67,7, demorgent 97,17.

Other forms, however, also occur :

viengnent 62,11, tiennent 18,7, retieingne 53,15; doint 13,5; refere 134,1.

3. (P.1277,84). Imperfect indicative terminations, first conjugation :

The terminations -out, -ouent, -ot, -oent are entirely replaced by those of other conjugations :

eg. presentayent 3,11, portait 43,9, ajosteient 10,6, manaceit 15,3, doneient 14,12, maundeient 31,10, esproveient 10,6, habitoient 19,4, demandoient 22,12, lançoient 20,13 ; etc.

The reduction of [âi] and [êi] to [ɛ] has rendered the spellings ai and ei interchangeable, and the spelling oi has gained ground under Francien influence.

4. (P.1280). Past participles :

Generally, the distinction between participles in -i and -u is observed; but note eliz 18,20 (esluz 24,7, 55,19).

venqui 13,10, 13,11 and venu 14,17 etc. are both found.

coillet 65,10 is a past participle form of coillir 109,15 etc., coiller 83,10, 143,11. Note the lack of discrimination in endings : coillé 118,18, coillez 130,13, coilli 148,8, coilliz 70,5 ; similarly, fiché 24,19, fichez 14,19, afichi 133,19, fichiz 57,13, 61,25 ; escourti 133,20 (= escorté, on curtare).

5. (P.1282). Inorganic s in third person singular forms :

With the effacement of prae-consonantal [s], Anglo-Norman verb forms suffered some confusion in spelling, and in the text s is sometimes extended to forms where it is non-etymological :

eg. fust (pret.3) 31,3 etc., aparust (pret.3) 145,12, valust (pret.3) 46,18, dist (pr.ind.3) 33,5, list (pr.ind.3) 65,13, resortist (pr.ind.3) 133,22.

6. (P.1288,90). Effacement of [ə], in verbal forms :

Effacement of counter-tonic [ə] in hiatus with a following tonic vowel is best observed in past participles in -(e)u :

eg. eslu 1,4 etc., esluz 24,7, 55,19, eslus 55,18 ; conu 8,16 etc.; estu 141,8.

Graphical retention of e in these cases is, however, frequent :
eleu 5,18, 77,7, esleu 8,18 etc., esleuz 39,6, 41,4; coneu 51,11, 121,13; aparceu 33,13 etc., deceu 65,20 etc., receu 24,10, veu 10,4 etc., porveu 69,1 etc., creu 62,9, 90,19, seu 25,23.

Effacement of [ə] may also be noted in certain infinitives :
asser 17,11, ser 100,1 ; but asseer 7,23, asseir 1,14, veer 91,19 etc.

and in the imperfect subjunctive of strong u-perfect verbs :
eg. ust 33,19 etc., ussent 31,5, 98,25, pust 20,15, 45,18, pussent 114,18 etc., dust 153,7, dussent 10,3 etc., plust 46,20, but eust 13,11 etc, peust 76,21, peussent 14,20 etc., seusent 78,16 etc.

Conversely, an analogical e is found in feust 48,2, feussent 16,18 etc., feusent 48,5 (fust 4,20 etc., fussent 78,7 etc.).

e is maintained graphically in the majority of imperfect subjunctive forms of some L.Latin s-perfects :

eg. preist 66,20, preisent 55,16, 96,8, meissent 128,16 ; but prisent 16,3.

Effacement of interconsonantal [ə] is common in future forms of the verb faire (fere) :

fra 22,21 etc., frez 104,1, frunt 23,2, front 39,18 etc.;

(cond.) freient 71,8.

(An analogical e may occasionally be added, as in atende 17,15 and departe 115,11 (apparently subj. forms), for ind.pres.3.)

7. (P.1290). Interconsonantal glide [ə] :

A glide sound [ə] is commonly developed between consonant + r in many verbal forms :

avera 8,3 etc.(and future and conditional forms of the verb avoir, passim), savera 86,6, 89,2, saverez 141,14, naverer 15,22, naverez 92,4, naveré 117,11, devereit 3,8, devereient 25,4, desseverer 107,13, aparcevera 39,2, recevera 50,1, receveront 99,18, liverée 45,5, deliveré 85,1, delivera 120,5, descriverai 86,22, overir 80,3, movera 42,16, overent 77,10, 84,7, overé 28,21, overee 140,9;

defendera 105,6, defenderoient 61,18, pendera 127,14, espaunderont 132,19, vodera 73,14, voderez 134,18;

abaterez 104,2, combateroit 16,5, isteront 57,6, 142,14, veintera 111,3, veinteroient 94,1;

but delivré 137,15, ovrent 84,19; voudra 39,3, vodra 86,12, vodrez 100,16; veintra 114,5, 115,7.

8. (P.1304). s-perfect forms :

Some imperfect subjunctives with intervocalic s persist :
mesfesist 44,20, fausist 46,9, defausist 55,15, vousist 59,1,
126,16, vousisent 114,21, vousissent 140,20.

In the perfect (preterite), forms in -strent persist in
the third person plural :

elistrent 13,22, 78,13, escristrent 11,3 etc., apristrent 4,17
etc., pristrent 43,22 etc., mistrent 66,13 etc., sistrent
134,13, distrent 150,20 ; but elurent 4,16.

Under the analogical influence of the mettre-perfect
mist, the form remist 52,9 is found as a third person perfect
of remanoir (cf. P.1310).

9. (P.1309,14). Influence of first conjugation :

The infinitive termination -eir (-oir) is frequently
written -er :

saver 2,20 etc., aver 3,8 etc., asseer 7,23 (asser 17,11, ser
100,1), veer 91,19 etc., porveer 70,1, valer 35,2 etc., poer
92,18, mover 96,13, 137,14, arder 130,8;
but savoir 7,3, savoыр 60,1, avoir 6,18 etc., asseir 1,14,
purveir 1,21 (in porveier 63,3 etc., the i probably represents
a glide sound [j]).

Occasionally -er is found for -ir :

defailer 2,7, sailer 7,8, sailler 12,25 etc., assailler 122,24, eschuer 7,23, 146,19, fuer 79,9, 92,5, coiller 83,10, 143,11 ; but defailir 37,9, defaillir 37,2, assailir 140,8, eschuir 8,1, fuir 5,3 etc., coillir 109,15 etc.

Note the perfect forms suierent 31,20, suerent 52,7 ; the future suera 107,19 ; the imperfect subjunctive suiassent 30,22 ; and the future oieront 85,11 (cf. oir 86,12).

Conversely, the -er terminations of some verbs commonly of the first conjugation in Old French may be differentiated to -ir :

fichir 82,3, 85,5, assegir 69,10 (asseger 129,3), sechir 146,20.

10. Vocalic alternation : (see also p.86)

vocalic alternation

is apparently suppressed in certain verbs where the alternation [ûê] ; [o] is commonly observed in Francien :

eg. trove 13,15 etc., trovent 95,10 etc.; provent 9,11 ; esprovent 10,10 ; descovre 15,20 ; ovrent 84,19 ; sout 29,5 (= suelt)¹⁰⁶ ; vult 31,14, volent 35,10 etc.; sofre 26,17, 116,15, soffre 75,11, 115,9, soffrent 26,1 etc.; demore 68,9, demorgent 97,17, demurgent 67,7; morgent 130,5.

11. Third person plural -int¹⁰⁷⁾ :

The spelling -int for the present indicative third person plural ending -ent occurs once only : issint 137,3.

12. Archaisms :

out 9,13 (<habuit) and veintre 9,19 etc. (vintre 61,3) are forms which persist late in Anglo-Norman (cf. P.1268,70).

ert (fut.3) 27,11 etc. persists, but is commonly superseded in the text by sera, serra (7,20, 28,3, 30,1, etc.).

13. Confusion of second person singular forms¹⁰⁸⁾ :

There are several instances of the confusion of tu and vous and their verbal complements, a feature of Anglo-Norman* :

vous frez... abaterez... devez... e puis te covient environer les eles de vos enemis 104,1 et seq.

car quant tu serras bien apris..., tost poez conquere ton adversaire 105,18

vous conquerez la victorie, e la partie de ton ost ke vous averez rescous de ton enemis durra seurement 109,9

Donc poez seurement combatre a vostre enemis a ton voil 112,2

Kar il comence estre encontre tei si vous lessez 121,6.

* and indeed common in Continental French.

14. (P.1316). Confusion of tenses :

Confusion of the tenses, eg. present for perfect, imperfect, and vice versa, is common in Continental French as well as in Anglo-Norman, but both Vising¹⁰⁹⁾ and Pope note that confusion between the perfect and imperfect tenses is particularly characteristic of Anglo-Norman :

eg. od ces ki saillerent... sailleit, e od ces ke correient correit 13,7 et seq.

les chivalers pristrent rerement e vestoient plus greves armes 22,11

les provoz comandeient... les chivalers amonesterent 47,2; etc.

15. Confusion of number :

Third person singular and plural forms are frequently interchanged or confused :

eg. mout de grant corage sunt ki dirra 92,19

li sires ki sostienent... soleit estre 104,8

ces .ii. engins... ne occist pas 139,7

il mettent tantost le fu e ard 140,16

donc vient sodeinement les opidans 142,8 ; etc.

16. Confusion of prepositions :

According to Vising, the use of de instead of pour is a feature of Anglo-Norman¹¹⁰⁾. This may possibly be noted in

the text's eslire les jovenceaus de combatre si com nus avom dit 9,12. It may be said with greater certainty that the text bears evidence of a considerable confusion between the prepositions à and de (and en, por occasionally) :

eg. destreint por recevoir 16,17, destreint a venir 19,19, destreint de prendre 23,17 ; apareilé a cumbatre 5,16, apareillez... de faire 46,6 ; Quanz des compaignies sunt de une legion 2,10, quanz compaignies sunt en une legion 40,1.).

Some verbs occasionally dispense with the following preposition :

eg. acostumez estre 20,10, apernoient descendre 21,5 (but se devoient acostumer de courre 12,17, apreingnent a sailer e a coure 7,8). Note that aprendre may be used transitively, as in the phrase aprent li auctors les jovenes chivalers 15,11 etc. (but aprent li auctors as jovenes chivalers 21,10 etc.).

CONCLUSION ON LANGUAGE

From the above data it is abundantly clear that the text is of Anglo-Norman origin. Most of the obvious distinguishing features of later Anglo-Norman are present : the elimination of atonic vowels and reduction of diphthongs, the velarization of [a] and spellings in ou, th, k, etc., the disintegration of declension and re-conjugation of verbs. The frequent employment of continental forms, such as oi for ei, and ie for e, may be ascribed to strong influences still exerted on Anglo-Norman by Continental French; and that we find the apparently Francien spelling an as commonly as we find aun in this particular text is merely a reminder that traditional forms died hard, and that Anglo-Norman dialectal forms rarely ousted completely those that had long been current in the language.

With due regard to the confused state of the language, to the consequent multiplicity of forms attested, and to the archaisms of a text which is little more than a free translation of a Latin original, it is no easy matter to suggest an accurate date for the work on linguistic evidence alone. However, some general conclusions may certainly be drawn.

The spelling aun, common in the text, does not appear

until early in the thirteenth century¹¹¹⁾, It is only after the middle of the thirteenth century that y is written frequently for i¹¹²⁾, and that c is written for s ; whereas s for c is found towards the end of the century¹¹³⁾. The phenomenon of the adjective without final s standing before a plural substantive is also found in the second half of the thirteenth century¹¹⁴⁾; and ki and ke, written for qui, que, are forms which disappear towards the end of the thirteenth century¹¹⁵⁾.

Since all these forms are encountered frequently in the text, the contention that the translation was made about the middle of the latter half of the thirteenth century seems to be well supported. In other words, this study of the language of the work reveals no specific factor to contradict the date of the copying of the Fitzwilliam Anglo-Norman text (i.e. c.1272) which has earlier been deduced from historical and textual evidence.

7. ESTABLISHMENT OF TEXT

This edition is based on Add.MS.1. of the Marlay Collection, at the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. Only the most obvious errors in the manuscript have been corrected, and all such corrections are indicated in the footnotes. Since the intention has been to present as faithful a copy of the manuscript as possible, errors in case, gender or number have nowhere been corrected. Where such errors have any bearing on the sense of the translation, they are indicated in the Critical Notes at the end of this volume and either an alternative reading is suggested or the correct sense is explained.

Attention is drawn in the footnotes to scribal alterations. These alterations are generally in the form of expunctuated words or letters for which substitutions are sometimes made above the line or in the margin of the manuscript; or again in the form of additional words or letters above the line. A number of words added or substituted in this manner are in a second hand. Emendations in this hand have not been automatically rejected, and wherever they give a reading preferable to that of the original scribe (this not always being the case), they have been accepted in the text of this edition. All emendations which may with certainty be ascribed to this second hand are distinguished in the footnotes from those of the original scribe by the use of an asterisk.

Each of the five Books of the text is separated from the following Book by a blank page. Chapter headings, written in red ink in the manuscript, are underlined, and where such headings are omitted, the pattern of the original Latin text is preserved by a blank line, with a fresh paragraph indicating the new chapter ; the corresponding Latin chapter heading is supplied in the Critical Notes. Reference may always be made to the Critical Notes for the number and Latin title of each chapter.

Abbreviations have been expanded in accordance with modern editorial practice. The scribe's own orthography has been accepted as a guide, expansions following the spelling most frequently used when a word is written out in full. Modern punctuation is used, and capital letters are employed to indicate initial words and proper names.

The letters u and y, and i and j have been distinguished according to whether they fulfil vocalic or consonantal functions. Hesitation occurred in the cases of eschiure and siure, but since both eschure and sure are to be found in the text, the reading -iu was preferred to -iv . Similarly, i is frequently not dotted in the manuscript, and this has occasionally caused confusion, again notably in the case of suire and siure. Wherever there is any element of the doubt the form most regularly attested in the manuscript (in this instance suire) is that employed in the edition.

The diaeresis has not been used. No satisfactory guiding rule for its utilization in Anglo-Norman text edition has yet been evolved, and the more convenient criterion of the syllabic count is not, of course, applicable to a prose text. Neither grave nor circumflex accents have been used. On the other hand, the acute accent has been used to distinguish final tonic -é and -és from atonic -e and -es, and the cedilla indicates the assibilated pronunciation of c before a, o or u.

An attempt has been made to systematize word-division, often inconsistent in the manuscript. The forms del and al, prae-vocalic or prae-consonantal, have been preserved throughout, except in the rare cases where an apostrophe has been seen to be necessary, as in a l'un e l'autre 155,10.

Derichef, neporquant, paremplir, jamés, soventefez, milu are examples of words which are sometimes split by the scribe into two parts (or even three in the case of neporquant), and which have been regularized in the edition. Conversely, such expressions as contre ester, entre encontrerent, au derein, en mi, por ce ke, soventes fez, inconsistently rendered in the manuscript, have been preferred in their separated forms. Tres- with an adjective or adverb, as in tresgrant, generally indicates a Latin superlative.

The forms od and ou are often confused by the scribe. In the latter half of the manuscript, od is frequently altered

to ou, and ou more rarely to od (for the Latin cum). I have read ou throughout in all such cases, since it is this form which is most regularly used earlier in the text.

NOTES TO INTRODUCTION

- 1) For the factual source-matter of the initial subsection of this chapter, I am largely indebted to Harold Mattingly, Roman Imperial Civilisation, London, 1957.

The standard De re militari, to which I regularly refer in the text of the Introduction, is the second edition of Karl Lang, published under the title Flavi Vegeti Renati Epitoma Rei Militaris, Leipzig, 1885.

- 2) It is interesting to note that many manuscripts run together the last two "books" of Vegetius, the ten short chapters on warfare at sea serving merely as a sort of appendix to Book IV. This is the case in the Fitzwilliam Vegetius. The implication is that Rome did not seriously consider her fleet as a major arm of warfare.

- 3) Hence the numerous copies and translations of Book I and the Regulae bellorum generales made throughout the later Middle Ages.

- 4) C.G. Bourdon de Sigrais, Institutions militaires de Végèce, Paris, 1743, pp.v-vii.

- 5) See Text, 11,11 and Note; also Dankfried Schenk, "Flavius Vegetius Renatus, Die Quellen der Epitoma Rei Militaris", in Klio, Leipzig, 1930.

- 6) T.R. Phillips, The Military Institutions of the Romans, Harrisburg, 1952, Introduction, p. 1.

The De re militari of Vegetius may well have been the western world's most influential military treatise. It has, however, an eastern parallel which can claim an even greater antiquity : The Art of War by Sun Tzū, which dates from c.500 B.C. Stylistically this work is far more satisfying than the De re militari, whose Regulae bellorum generales it most resembles in content and outlay. See Sun Tzū on the Art of War. The oldest military treatise in the world; translated from the Chinese, with Introduction and critical notes by Lionel Giles, London, 1910.

- 7) See Leonard Cottrell, The Great Invasion, London, 1958, p.60, where the author declares Vegetius to have been a soldier, yet offers no specific evidence to support his claim. (Vegetius is also given in this work as having lived from 383-450).

- 8) See Max Jähns, Geschichte der Kriegswissenschaften, Munich, 1889-91, Vol.I, p.109.

- 9) Honoré Bonet's Arbre des batailles and Christine de Pisan's Livre des faits d'armes et de chevalerie are token witnesses

of mediaeval plagiarism. In the words of Ernest Nys

'le moyen âge n'avait pas de notion stricte du droit d'auteur; sans vergogne, un écrivain reproduisait des pages entières d'un autre écrivain; il ne se croyait nullement obligé de mentionner le nom de celui qu'il plagiait ni de prévenir le lecteur qu'il s'agissait d'emprunts et non pas de travaux originaux'. (Christine de Pisan et ses principales oeuvres, Brussels, 1914, p.20)

- 10) P. Vegeti Renati Digestorum Artis Mulomedicinae libri, ed.
E. Lommatzch, Leipzig, 1903.
- 11) Christoph Schöner, Studien zu Vegetius, Erlangen, 1888.
- 12) Lang, Edition, p.22,3.
- 13) British Museum, Royal MS. 17.E.V.(II), fol.205v.
- 14) These manuscripts are detailed in the Preface to Lang's
edition. See also Appendix (II) to this thesis.
- 15) These manuscripts are detailed in the first Appendix at the
end of this thesis.
- 16) MS. Vat. Reg. 2077.
- 17) Max Jähns, op. cit., Vol.I, p.120.
- 18) Again, these manuscripts are listed in Lang, Preface.
- 19) See Per Johan Vising, "Franska Språket i England", Göteborgs
Högskolas Årsskrift, 1900-02, Pt.II, p.26.
- 20) Ulysse Robert, L'art de chevalerie, S.A.T.F., Paris, 1897,
Introduction, p.viii.
- 21) Paul Meyer, "Les anciens traducteurs français de Végèce
et en particulier Jean de Vignai", Romania XXV, 1896,
pp.401-423.
- 22) Catalogue of Western MSS in the Old Royal and King's
Collections (British Museum), London, 1921, Vol.II, p.364.
- 23) Ed. Ulysse Robert, S.A.T.F., Paris, 1897.

- 24) MS. Bibl. Nat., f.fr. 1604.
- 25) See Paul Meyer, i) "Les manuscrits français de Cambridge.
II. - Bibliothèque de l'Université", Romania XV, 1886, p.265.
ii) "Les anciens traducteurs français de Végèce", Romania XXV,
1896, pp.401-423. iii) "Les manuscrits français de Cambridge.
IV. - Gonville et Caius College", Romania XXXVI, 1907, pp.522-529.
- 26) Jules Camus, "Notice d'une traduction française de Végèce
faite en 1380", Romania XXV, 1896, pp.393-400.
- 27) Op. cit., Romania XXV, p.405.
- 28) Christine de Pisan, L'art de chevalerie selon Végèce,
Paris, 1527, I,9.
- 29) Guillaume du Bellay, Instructions sur le faict de la Guerre,
extraictes des livres de Polybe, Frontin, Vegece, Cornazan,
Machiavelle, & plusieurs autres bons autheurs, Paris, 1549, Ch.III.
- 30) MS. Bibl. Nat., f.fr. 1563, ff.144-147.
- 31) Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques
de France, Vol.I, p.251.
- 32) Gace de la Buigne, Le Roman des Deduis, ed. Åke Blomqvist
(Studia Romanica Holmiensia, III), Karlshamn, 1951, line
7815 et seq.
- 33) Honoré Bonet, L'apparicion maistre Jehan de Meun (1398),
ed. Ivor Arnold, O.U.P., 1926, p.28, l.564.

- 34) Christine de Pisan, Le livre de la paix, ed. Charity Cannon Willard, 's'Gravenhage, 1958, p.67.
- 35) Alain Chartier, Le quadrilogue invectif, ed. E. Droz, C.F.M.A., Paris, 1923, p.28, l.19.
- 36) Jean Molinet, Les faictz et dictz, ed. N. Dupire, S.A.T.F., Paris, 1936, p.156, l.111.
- 37) François Villon, Oeuvres, ed. Auguste Longnon (deuxième édition revue par Lucien Foulet), .C.F.M.A., Paris, 1914, p.1, l.6.
- 38) Bibliothèque du Ministère de la Guerre, MSS. 767-770.
- 39) Flave Vegece René, homme noble et illustre, du fait de guerre : et fleur de chevalerie. Traduits fidèlement de latin en françois : & collationnez (par le polygraphe humble secretaire & historien du parc d'honneur) aux livres anciens...
The volume also contains translations of Frontinus, Aelian and the pseudo-Modestus.
- 40) Flave Vegece René, Conte Constantinopolitain, Homme Illustre, de la Milice Romaine, reparty en cinq Livres, Frankfurt, 1616.
- 41) "...so habe ich bemerket, dass der franzoesische Uebersetzer nicht nur allein getreu, sondern auch sehr scharfsinnig gehandelt habe" (Introduction to Kriegs-Lehren des Vegetz, ed. J.T. Bion, Vienna, 1759).

- 42) Turpin de Crissé, Commentaires sur les Institutions Militaires de Végèce, Paris, 1775.
- 43) See Jähns, op. cit., p.124.
- 44) See above. It may also be noted that in the manuscripts of M. Bréan, a prolific translator of classical writings in the late nineteenth century, is in fact one more version - his own - of the De re militari; see Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France, Vol.XXXI, 1898, p.152.
- 45) Op. cit., Preface, p.xxxix.
- 46) A brief survey of Latin editions of the text published in various countries during the period 1473-1762 reinforces the point. The British Museum possesses at least thirteen editions printed before the end of the sixteenth century. In the seventeenth century the flow abates, and from 1670 to 1762 the Museum catalogue registers a blank period (the important Schwebel edition dating from 1767 and remaining the standard Vegetius until 1885, when Lang produces his definitive second edition). This seems to prove that roughly from the mid-seventeenth to the mid-eighteenth century, interest in Vegetius, although by no means dead, was at its lowest ebb.
- 47) Op. cit., Preface.
- 48) Op. cit., Preface, p.xxxvi. Bourdon de Sigrais did not share the view that Theodosius was Vegetius' dedicatee.

- 49) See Jähns, op. cit., p.113 note.
- 50) Ibid., p.123.
- 51) Mélange de Remarques, sur-tout sur César, et autres auteurs militaires, anciens et modernes, par le Général-Major de W., Warsaw, 1782.
- 52) A. Andersson, Studia Vegetiana, Uppsala, 1938.
- 53) Military Institutions of Vegetius, translated (with preface and notes) by Lieut. John Clarke, London, 1767.
- 54) See above. Reprinted 1952 and 1960.

As an example of the style of this most extraordinary Vegetius yet published, I quote the following passage from pp.22-3 :

"The utility of good archers in action is evidently demonstrated by Cato (the elder (234-149 B.C.) who pronounced : "Carthage must be destroyed"). To the institution of a body of troops of this sort Claudius (Roman emperor 268-70) owed his victory over an enemy (the Goths) who till that time had constantly been superior to him. Scipio Africanus (237-183 B.C.; defeated Hannibal at Zama, 202 B.C.) before his battle with the Numantines who had made a Roman army ignominiously pass under the yoke (ancient people of Spain who long resisted Roman conquest) thought he could have no likelihood of success except by mingling a number of select archers with every century."

- 55) See above : note 5).
- 56) Cesare Segre, "Jean de Meung e Bono Giamboni traduttori di Vegezio", Atti della Accademia delle scienze di Torino, 1952, pp.119-153.

57) Full reference to the articles by Professor Thorpe and Miss Legge is made in Chapter 4.

58) The Giamboni translation has been published : Di Vegezio Flavio dell'Arte della Guerra libri IV, volg. di Bono Giamboni (ed. F. Fontani), Firenze, 1815.

The versions of Gaetano di Pofi and Francesco Ferrosi are recorded in Jähns, op. cit., p.122. Gaetano entitled his work Vegetio de l'arte militare; there is a copy of the (second?) edition of 1525, published in Venice, in the British Museum. The Museum similarly has a copy of Ferrosi, Vegetio dell'arte della guerra, Venice, 1551.

An Italian version of Book I of Vegetius, contained in a fifteenth century manuscript, has been published by Giovanni Tria, L'Ars Militaris di Flavio Vegezio Renato, Naples, 1887.

59) See Mario Schiff, La Bibliothèque du Marquis de Santillane, Paris, 1905, p.75.

60) See Grande Enciclopédia Portuguesa e Brasileira, Lisbon, Vol.34.

61) Mary Magdalene College, MS. 30 ; (and other manuscripts).

62) Jähns, op. cit., p.121.

63) This is probably the work referred to in an extract from a book of receipts and expenditure from 1572-75 :

"The said daye, payd for Scanderbege upon the Turkeshe warres, xiiijd.; and for Vegesias uppon the pollycie of the warres, xijd."

Report on the MSS of Lord Middleton, preserved at Wollaton Hall, Nottinghamshire, London, 1911, pp.421-22.

- 64) See above. According to Phillips, among others, the De re militari was first published in English "by Caxton...in 1489" (op. cit., Introduction, p.1). This is incorrect. Caxton's Fayttes of Armes, of that date, is simply a translation of Christine de Pisan's compilation, which is described earlier in this chapter.
- 65) D. Jaime de Viana, Instituciones Militares de Fl. Vegecio Renato. Traducidas del Latin al Castellano, Madrid, 1764.
- 66) Temistocle Mariotti, Flavio Vegezio Renato. Compendio di arte militare. Traduzione, con proemio e annotazioni. Treviso, 1878.
- 67) L.A. Maggiorotti, Dell'Arte Militare. De Re Militari. Traduzione di Temistocle Mariotti, con note e commenti, Rome, 1938.
- 68) Henri Delpech, La tactique au XIII^eme siècle, Paris, 1886, Vol.II, p.127 et seq.
- 69) R.C. Smail, "Art of War"; essay in Medieval England, Vol.I (Ch.4, p.129), ed. A.L. Poole, Oxford, 1958.
- 70) See Preface to "Végèce, Institutions Militaires", Bibliothèque historique et militaire (ed. Liskenne et Sauvanne), 1850.

- 71) Cf. Ulysse Robert, L'art de chevalerie; where the words of Gaston Paris are quoted in the Introduction, p.xx.
- 72) Traduction de Végèce (see above). The quotation is taken from the translator's Dedication to the Duc de Broglie.
- 73) R. Dyboski, Knyghthode and Bataile, a XVth Century Verse Paraphrase of Flavius Vegetius Renatus' Treatise "De Re Militari", ed. R. Dyboski and Z.M. Arend, Early English Text Society, London, 1935. See Introduction, p. xxv.
- 74) See Francis Wormald and Phyllis M. Giles, A handlist of the additional manuscripts in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Part II, no.97 (Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society, 4, 1952).
- 75) Professor Lewis Thorpe has already given a full description of the contents of the Fitzwilliam Vegetius in his article "Mastre Richard. A thirteenth-century translator of the 'De re militari' of Vegetius", Scriptorium, VI, 1952, pp.39-50. Both of the manuscript's miniatures are illustrated in Plates 13-14.
- Professor Wormald and Miss Phyllis Giles will also be including a description of the manuscript in a catalogue of the MSS of the Fitzwilliam Museum. At present this is still in the stages of compilation.
- 76) Together with Miss Giles I examined these two lines of writing with the aid of an ultra-violet lamp. I could add nothing to what had already been established :

ad Par..... de s~~an~~.ma Pasciolien
..... Francisco(?).

The handwriting is considerably later than that of the manuscript.

77) Lewis Thorpe, op. cit., p.40.

78) Cf. A Book of Old Testament Illustrations of the Middle of the Thirteenth Century... Described by Sydney C. Cockerell. With an Introduction by Montague Rhodes James. Cambridge, 1927.

The illustrations in this work are taken from a French manuscript of c.1250, in the library of John Pierpoint Morgan, in New York. Miss Giles drew my attention to the characteristic towers, domes, crenelations and triple archway motifs, which are also evident in this first miniature.

79) A brief note on this miniature, together with a plate (V), is given in "Some Notes on Mediaeval Ships", by H.H. Brindley, Cambridge Antiquarian Society's Communications, Vol.XXI, 1919, cf. pp.85-7.

80) Lewis Thorpe, "Mastre Richard. A thirteenth-century translator of the 'De re militari' of Vegetius", Scriptorium VI, 1952, pp.39-50 ; and "Mastre Richard at the Skirmish of Kenilworth?", Scriptorium VII, 1953, pp.120-1.

M. Dominica Legge, "The Lord Edward's Vegetius", Scriptorium VII, 1953, pp.262-5.

81) This miniature must evidently have been completed before

Edward's accession to the throne, in November 1272. Alternatively, if the work was carried out in Acre, by early 1273, when the news of Edward's kingship would have reached the Holy Land.

82) Lang, Edition, p.113 (Lib.III,22).

83) Op. cit., p.262.

84) It must be pointed out that at the time of writing this article Miss Legge was unaware of the reference to Kenilworth made in the translation. By a strange coincidence, the second article of Professor Thorpe, which brought this factor to light, was published simultaneously with that of Miss Legge.

85) This Latin version was not necessarily the original from which the translation was made and need not, therefore, have been copied before the French text.

86) Professor Thorpe (op. cit., p.40) does not reject the possibility of his being Edward's physician, who appears in Patent Rolls, Henry III, 17 September, 1265.

87) See Charles Oman, A History of the Art of War : The Middle Ages, from the Fourth to the Fourteenth Century, London, 1898, p.546.

88) Ibid., p.137.

89) Ibid., p.140.

90) Ibid., p.140.

- 91) M.K. Pope, From Latin to Modern French with Especial Consideration of Anglo-Norman, Revised Edition, London, 1952, pp.420-485.
- 92) Alfred Ewert goes one step further, considering that "the separate treatment of forms (Morphology) and use (Syntax) is artificial and that such a division is justified only by convenience" (The French Language, Second Edition, London, 1953, p.124).
- 93) This form, common in Norman and Anglo-Norman manuscripts, is considered by G. Rohlfs to have arisen \neq Norman unc, unques < unquam ; cf. unkes 6,20 etc. (Gerhard Rohlfs, "Zur Herkunft von franz. encore, ital. ancora", Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen, Bd.172, Braunschweig, 1937-8, p.204.
- 94) Cf. O.H. Prior, Divisiones Mundi, Cambridge Anglo-Norman Texts, 1924 ; on Language, p.9.
- In a more recent work, Ilmar Lahti suggests that the phenomenon is most common in Anglo-Norman and in the northern and western dialects of Old French (La métathèse de l'R dans les idiomes romans, Helsinki, 1935, p.161.
- 95) Cf. O.H. Prior, op. cit., p.10.
- 96) This spelling in -t seems to be somewhat rare. Godefroy notes the spelling ut once only, in La Vie de St. Léger in the expression 'Cio fut Lisos ut il intrat'.

- 97) Cf. Per Johan Vising, Anglo-Norman Language and Literature, London, 1923, p.28. According to Vising ca is also found beside cha in Norman texts.
- 98) Confusion between en and an is already evident in Boeve de Haumtone (see A. Stimming, Der Anglonormannische Boeve de Haumtone, Bibl. Normannica VII, Halle, 1899, pp.184-5).
- 99) Stimming, op. cit., p.186.
- 100) Ibid., pp.215-6.
- 101) V and f interchange frequently in Anglo-Norman. See W.H. Trethewey, La Petite Philosophie, Anglo-Norman Text Society, Oxford, 1939, p.101 (115n.).
- 102) Cf. L.E. Menger, The Anglo-Norman Dialect, New York, 1904, p.114.
- 103) This form is particularly common in Anglo-Norman texts, according to Paul Studer, Le Mystère d'Adam, Manchester, 1918, Introduction, p.xlix.
- 104) This form is particularly common in Anglo-Norman texts, according to P.J. Vising, Le Purgatoire de saint Patrice, Göteborgs Högskolas Årsskrift, 1915, p.58.
- 105) Cf. Stimming, op. cit., pp.215-6.
- 106) Cf. E.G.R. Waters, The Anglo-Norman Voyage of St. Brendan, Oxford, 1928, l.767, where solt < soluit.

- 107) See Vising, A.N.L.L., p.30 ; and F.J. Tanquerey, L'évolution du verbe en anglo-français, XIIe.-XIVe. siècles, Paris, 1915, p.254.
- 108) Vising, A.N.L.L., p.30.
- 109) Ibid., p.30.
- 110) Ibid., p.31.
- 111) Pope, op. cit., para.1152 ; and Prior, op.cit., p.1.
- 112) Stimming, op. cit., p.186.
- 113) Vising, Purgatoire (see above), p.11.
- 114) Ibid., p.11.
- 115) Stimming, op. cit., p.234.

PART II

TEXT

BOOK I

1r. Ces sunt les chapitres del premer livre de¹⁾ Vegece.

Ici comence le auctor e escrit de la chivalerie de Rome.	.i.	
De queus nacions om deit eslire bons chivalers.	.ii.	
De queus regions om deit eslire juvenceus.	.iii.	
De quel age deit estre ki est eslu as armes.	.iiii.	
Queus sunt a eslire as armes porter en bataille.	.v.	5
Ke om deit eslire juvenceaus as armes.	.vi.	
De quel art om deit eslire gent as armes.	.vii.	
L'em ne deit escrivre nul jovenceal si il ne seit prové.	.viii.	
Quele chose li jovenceal deit aprendre.	.ix.	
Le jovenceal deit aprendre le art de noer.	.x.	10
Queles choses les juvenceaus deivent haunter.	.xi.	
La manere de ben ferir.	.xii.	
La manere de armer chivalers.	.xiii.	
Coment om deit asseir les cops.	.xiiii.	
La manere de seetes enginouses ²⁾ .	.xv.	15
La manere de gitter peres.	.xvi.	
Del haunt de plums.	.xvii.	
Coment om deit descendre de chivaus e munter.	.xviii.	
Cumbien de charge li jovencel portera.	.xix.	
Quele manere de armes om deit user.	.xx.	20
De garnir e purveir herberges.	.xxi.	
En quel lyu om deit herbeger.	.xxii.	
Le ordeinement des herbergeries.	.xxiii.	
Le garnitement des herbergeries.	.xxiiii.	

1) Ces...de: The top of this line has been partially cut away.

2) enginouses: -i- added above the line

La manere de haunt de jovenes chivalers.	.xxv.
En cumben de espace les chivalers deivent aler e repairer.	.xxvi.
Le amonestement des chivalers, e de la vertu de Rome.	.xxvii.

Ici finicent les chapitres del premer livre.

1v. Les chapitres de le secund livre de Vegece.

Les establisemenz de majors.	.i.	
La devision des choses ke partienent a chivalerie.	.ii.	5
La difference entre legion e ayde.	.iii.	
Quel enchesun fet legion defailer.	.iiii.	
Cumben de legiuns serunt en bataille amenez.	.v.	
Coment la legion deit estre establee.	.vi.	
Quanz des compaignies sunt de une legion.	.vii.	10
Les offices des princes e des governurs.	.viii.	
Le office de provost.	.ix.	
Le office de provost des herbergeries.	.x.	
Le office de provost de fevres.	.xi.	
Le office de conestable de chivalers.	.xii.	15
Des compaignies de gent a pé.	.xiii.	
L'aprise encuntre survenue de batayle.	.xiiii.	
Coment les compaignies serrunt armez.	.xv.	
Ceus ki esterunt al estal serrunt fortement armez.	.xvi.	
L'em deit saver les nuns des chivalers.	.xvii.	20
Ke chivaler en ost sache acunter.	.xviii.	
L'em deit sequestrer chose donee la terce partie.	.xix.	
De avauncemens de legions.	.xx.	

Les differences de estrumenz.	.xxi.
Le haunt de jofnes chivalers.	.xxii.
Le art de chivalerie.	.xxiii.
Queus engins les legions apporterunt oveke eus.	.xxiiii.

Ici finisent les chapitres del secund livre.

3r. VEGETII PHILOSOFI DE RE MILITARI DE LATINO IN GALLICUM DE NOVO
TRANSLATUS. LIBER PRIMUS INCIPIT.

Issi comence le proeme de Vegece le philesophe de Rome al
emperere Trajan du livre ke il fist de choses ke apartenent
a chivalerie e de tute maneres de batailles auncienes, le
quel livre chescun prince de tere devereit aver.

5

Al ancian tens fu la custume de philosophes de mettre
en escrit les bones ars, e quant il aveient fet lur livres
si les presentayent as princes. Kar ren n'est adroyt comencé
si premerement après Deu, ki la science done, si l'emperere
ou li prince de la tere nel otreye - kar a nul ne covent sa-
ver meillurs choses ne plusurs ke a prince de la terre, pur
ceo ke ses sens pusse profiter a tote sa gent - ensi com le
empereres Ottovien e ly autres bons empereors ki après luy

10

15

3v. furent le / firent soventefoyz e volunters. Issi cunte li
auctor ascunes choses ki ne funt mie grant mester de escrivre,
kar il se escuse vers le empereor, ausi cum les bons philo-
sophes soleyent fere.

20

Ici comence li auctor de la chivalerie de Rome.

Isci comence Vegece sun livre, e dit ki les Romeyns con-
quirent tot le monde e totes les terres solement par usage de
armes e par mestrie de ost e par us de chevalerie. E ceo mustre
par ensaumple e dit ke poist fere la poy de gent de Rome, ke
esteit une sule cité, envers tote la gent de Gaule: ceo est a 5
dire del mounz de Monju dekes a la mer de Engleterre, e des le
Ryn dekes al Port d'Espayne. E ke poissent les Romains fere,
ki esteient petiz e de breve estature, enver la grandur des
Alemans, ki esteyens ~~si~~ si corsus? E ke poissent il fere vers
ces de Espaigne ke esteient trop plus de gent par nombre e 10
plus fort de cors? E a la verité ces de Affrike furent tuz
jors plus richez ke les Romayns, e plus surent de barat e de
gile. Tot le mund cet ben, ne nul ne deit doter, ke les Gre-
geys furent ancienement plus sages de totes choses ke Romeins
ou autre gent. Mes encuntre totes ces choses ke avant dite 15
sunt urent les Romains un avantage, kar il elurent sagement
les jovenceaus e les chivalers, e lur apristrent la droiture
de porter armes e usage continuel, e tute les choses ke so-
4r.leyent a/venir en oust ou en batayle champestre lur enseigh
~~uerent~~ a conustre avant ke il fust bosoyng. E ces ki bien ne 20
aperneient, il les chastierent mult cruelement. Kar li sens de
ben combatre si fet li home hardi, kar nuls home ne dute de ben
fere e de ben achevir ceo ke il set ben e ke il ad bien appris.
E pur ceo un poy de bone gent ben enseignee de armes vaut plus
en batayle e plus tost conquert victorie ke ne fet une grant 25

multitude de gent desusee de armes, kar les uns sunt tuz jurs prest a ocire e a eus defendre, e les autres ne sevent for ke fuir ou receyvre la mort.

De queus naciuns om deit elire bons chivalers.

Aprés dit li auctor ke le ordre de ces bosoingnes requert ke l'em sache de queus pays e de queus naciuns doit om elire les vassaus e les jovençaus ke deivent estre apriés des armes. Kar certeine chose est ke en tuz leus neissent de bons e de maveis; nequedent une gent vaut meus en batayle ke un autre, e la contree du ciel vaut mult a vertu de cors e de corage plus en un leu ke en autre. E reyson purquei, kar tote les naciuns ke sunt plus veisines al orient e al soleil unt meins de sank e plus de sens; e pur ceo sunt il plus febles en batayle e plus sages en conseyl. E de autre part la gent ke sunt de nacion dever le north e ke sunt loynteng de chalines de soleyl sunt meyns sages e unt plus de sank; e pur ceo sunt plus /
4v. apareilé a cumbatre mes folement. E pur ceo dit li auctor ke li jovenceaus e li vasaus ke om doit enseingner d'armes deivent estre eleu de attemprés regions, pur ceo ke il eient meine habundance e de sen e de sank; e par ceo purrunt meus sofrir bataylle e fere, quant il serrunt guié par vertu du cors e par vertu des sens. Kar purveance e atemprance o pruesce est la chose ke plus vaut en ost e en batayle. Ci finist le secund chapitre.

De queus regiuns om deit elire juvenceus.

Ci demande li auctor a soi memes, quant il ad dit des quels regions om deit eslire les vassaus, si demande de quels leus, ou de cité ou de vilage. E respont a soy memes e dit ke certainement ces de vilages sunt plus profitables a cel oes, pur ce ke il sunt nurri en travail acustumé e k'il poent ben souffrir le chaud du soleil, ne ne funt force del ombre, ne ne sevent baingner en ewe chaude, ne ne sevent ke sunt delices; e sunt de simple corage, e les poet om paier de pou; e unt les membres durs a tuz travaux soffrir; e ki par nature ad costume de porter la fermente, de fere fossez, de porter grant charge de busche ou de autre chose. 10

Ore dit li auctor ici ke a la foiz covent prendre vassaus e juvençaus de citez, mes ce pur boscoing; e cevent il premerement de aprendre a travailler e a corre e a porter grant fes e a souffrir 5r. le solail e la poudre e a manger petit e / viaunde de vilain e askune foiz gisir en mi les champs tut descoverte. E quant il est 15 usé de teus choses donc le deit om aprendre de armes. E avant ke il seient mis en bataille om les deit mult anguicer en plusurs travals e esloingner les de deduis k'il soleient avoir en lur cité od lur compainuns. Kar puis ke la cité de Rome fu fete e les Romains furent enpris en tele manere de aler en batailles, unkes 20 puis ne furent abaundonné a delices. Mes quant il esteient pleins de suor par les travals divers, il se aloient baingner en la rivere, aussi ben li vilein cum li citeins. Dunt il covent ke la force del ost seit acumplie de gent de vilage ke soit ben asee d'armes. Kar jo sai,

ce dit li auctor, ke cil dute meins la mort ke meins ad eu de joie e de delices en sa vie. Ci finist le tiers japitre.

De quel age deivent estre ki sunt elu as armes.

Ore dit li auctor ke il covent savoir de quel age soient ceus ki serront eluz a prendre le usage d'armes e de chivalerie. E dit ke auncianement soleit om eslire les jovenceaus kant que la barbe 5
lur començast a poindre. Kar ce ke les jofnes apreingnent en lur enfance e en lur juvente plus tost e plus parfitement le retengnés k'en nul autre age. E covient ke adunc apreingnent a sailer e a coure; kar la legiaunce de chevalerie se doit auser a teus choses
5v. avant ke li cors devenge / pereçous. Kar vistesse od bon usage 10
d'armes fet le bon combatur. E pur ce deit om eslire jovenceaus de tel age cum nus avom dit, si com nus dit Salustius li phylo-
sophes; pur ce ke meuz vaut ke li jovenceaus die: "Je suy trop jofnes", ke il die: "Ha, mun age est passé. Je ne puis mes apren-
dre". E pur ce dit li auctor ke li jovenceaus doit aver tens e 15
espace, ke il puisse tut apprendre. Kar l'art de porter armes n'est pas legere chose, ja çoit ce, ou a chival ou a pié, archer ou ar-
blaste, ou ome a pié ke porte grant targe. Kar il covent ke il sache totes maneres d'armeures e conuisse tuz les estres de batailles,
ne ke il ne lest mie sun leu ou il serra mis, ne ke il ne enpeche 20
mie ces compaignuns. E ke il sache ben lancer de launce ou sun dart e a grant force. E ke il sache bien fere fossé si mester est, e bien asseer paliz, e bien porter sun escu; eschuer les dars de ces enemis ke vendront de torz e de →

travers. E ke sagement sache eschuir les coups e hardiement doner. Dunk surement chescuns jovenceaus ki serra en teu manere enseingné ne avera ja pour de cumbatre contre quele gent ke ce soit, mes il avera delit. Ci finist le quart chapitre.

Queus om deit elire as armes porter en bataille.

En ce chapitre dit l'autor ke l'em ne deit pas seulement 5
regarder la graundor de cors de jovenceas, mes ke il soit fort
6r. e bien tail/lé e de bon quer. Kar un mendre de cors ki est
bien fet est plus sovent prisé de chivalerie ke n'est akun
tres grant.

Ke sage home deit elire juvenceaus as armes.

En ce chapitre dit l'auctor pur ce ke devant est dit ke 10
cil ke doit eslire les jovenceaus deit estre mult conisaunt
e entendaunt. Ka il covent ke du visage e des oez e de la
forme e de tuz les membres les conoisse si il soient cove-
nables a mester d'armes. Kar ausi com l'enseingnement de sages
philosophes mostrent, ne mie seulement les homes mes les chi- 15
ens e les chivals e les autres bestes sunt jugez e conu de lur
vertu par la forme de lor membres. Dount il covent ke li jo-
venceaus ki doit estre esleu soit com hom bien esveillez de
oiez, ne mie com hom endormi; e ke il hant teste levé e ke il
ait large piz e espauls bien braunés e forz braz e nerfs durs 20
e bien fait de tuz membres. E kaunt teus signes serront en

jovenceal esleu l'em ne doit fere force de la grandor de cors,
kar plus profitable chose est de avoir fort chivaler ke trop
grant.

De quel art l'em deit elire genz as armes.

En ce chapitre dit li auctor ke puis ke om doit eslire
de citez e de village, ke om doit eslire nul ke soit del art 5
de pescherie ne de oyselerie, ne thisserant, ne menestreus ke
6v. chauntent en estrument, ne gent ki / sunt de teu manere, tot
soient il bien formé ausi com devant est dit. Mes il covient
eslire feveres, machuns, charpenters, bochers, veneurs e
chasceurs de bestes sauvages; e de teu gent trovom ces ki 10
bien se provent en bataille. E en ce fu le fundement de la
hautesce de Rome jadis, de savoir eslire les jovenceaus de
combatre si com nus avom dit; e par ce out ele la seingnurie
de tot le monde. E fet a savoir ke la bachelerie, a ki om co-
mande la terre a defendre e a ki om comande l'aventure de la 15
bataille, doit estre de noble linage, si om l'a, e de bones
mours. Kar honesteté¹⁾ de mours fet chivaler covenable o bon;
kar les nobles homes unt plus tost hunte de fuir ke autres,
kar quant vergoine deveie a fuir, ele fet veintre. E quei
profite grant ost e grant souz a doner si il ne sunt bien 20
ausé d'armes e si il ne sunt bien esprové? Kar unkes ost
ne profita la ou le esleccion d'esprover les jovenceaus fu
mal fete. E tant com nus avom prové par usage e par esprove,

1) honesteté: final -té added above the line.

mainte foiz souffrirent grant damage les ost de Rome par lor
enemis totes les feiez ke après la lunge pies les jovenceaus
ne estoient pas esleu si com il dussent, dunt meint occision
fu fete, por ce ke il ne esteient pas honestes ne teuz com il
dussent. Kar ascune foiz ceus ke les eslisoient e ces ki les / 5
7r. esproveient par grace ou par dissimulacion i ajosteient ceus
ki estoient refusez e ces ki n'esteient pas dignes, e por ce
mescheeit. Pur la quele chose ces ki devoient eslire les
vassaus devoient estre prodesomes e grant seingnurs, e ces
ki les esprovent les devoient esprover od grant diligence. 10

L'em ne deit nul jovenceal escrivre si il ne seit prové.

En ce chapitre dit li auctor ke li jovenceaus ke est
esleu ne doit mie maintenant estre mis en escrit ne marché,
dreske a tant com le eit asaié si il est covenables a si
grant overaingne, e kom eit veu si il est ignaus, e provee
sa force; e si il poet aprendre la doctrine d'armes, e si om 15
se poet fier en li de chivalerie. Kar askuns ja ce ke il
seient trop beaus de cors e de membres, nequedent il sunt
mult malveis kant vient al esprove. E pur ce doit om prendre
ceus ke sunt profitable e oster ces ki nel sunt pas. Kar
vertu de chivalerie profite plus en tote bataille ke ne fet 20
multitude. Quant les vassaus serront merchié il covendra ke
de jur en jur lur ceit mostré la doctrine d'armes. Mes la
lunge peis ki ad esté fet failir¹⁾ ceste costume. E ki tro-

1) failir: final -r added above the line.

verez vus ki bien vus pusse asseingner ce ke il ne aprit unkes?

Pur ce covient ke des estoires e des livres de aunciens pernomms

7v. la doctrine e le usage d'armes. Kar ces ki escri/strent les
gestes e les aventures de batailles les nus unt lessé en lur
escrit, ausi com chose k'il bien savoient. Ces de Lacedemoine¹⁾ 5
e ces de Athenes e li autre de Grece escristrent²⁾ mult de
cestes choses en lur livres. Mes nus ne volums suivre de ceste
chose mes l'enseingnement de ceus de Rome, ki de une petite
gent e de un petit pais acrurent lur empire drekes es fins
de monde. E ce est la chose ke me ad fet enprendre cest ove- 10
raine, ke je die veraielement e leaument ce ki Caton li sage
jugerres escrit de la bosoingne de chivalerie, e ce ke Cor-
nelius Celsus e Ffrontinus escristrent, e ce ke Paternus li
bons enseingneres de chivalerie escrit en sun livre; les
queus choses puis après furent portees e enseingneez al em- 15
pereur Octavien e al empereur Trajan e al empereur Adrian.
Ne je ne sui pas auctor de ces choses; mes ce ka est espandu
en livres de ces ke je ai devant dit ai assemblé e mis en
ordre en cel livre.

1) Lacedemoine: -de- added above the line.

2) MS. eschistrent

Quele chose li juvencel deit aprendre.

En cel chapitre dit l'auctur ke la premere chose ke les
jovenceaus deivent aprendre ce est ke il apreingnent a errer
cum chivaler doit fere. Kar nule chose ne fet tant a garder
en eire n'en ost com ce ke les chivalers gardoient le ordre
8r.de aler; la quele chose om ne poit fere sans assiduel / usage; 5
pur quoi il deivent aprendre de aler igneement e ordineement.
Kar ost ki est departis e desordinez reçoit tuz jorz grefs
perils e grant damage de ces enemis. Le eirre de chivalerie
si est de tot aler, e en tel eirre doit aler li jovenceaus
vint e quatre mile pas en cink oures d'esté. Ce sunt vint e 10
quatre miles de Lumbardie, e ce est li premer degré en eirre
a ces ke soleient aler en l'ost de Rome auncianement. E doit
après aler en cinc ures en l'autre degré, ke est apelé
pleineirre, vint e quatre mile pas. E cist secund degré est
plus igneus ke l'autre devant, pur ce ke si nul se voleit 15
rien plus aforcer il ne purroit si il ne corrust. Les menors
e les plus jofnes se devoient acostumer de courre, pur ce ke
par greingnur vertu courent sur lur enemis e ke il puissent
avaunceement purprendre les leus covenables e les passages
quant mester serra; ou si lor enemis voleient purprendre les 20
passages, k'il les puisse avancier; ou ke il puissent joieuse-
ment e igneement aler espier lur enemis, e ke il joieusement
se repeirent, ou k'il puissent plus legierement ateindre les
dos de lur enemis kant il s'enfuierunt. E covent ke les chi-
valers e les jovenceaus aprengnent a sailler, pur ce ke si 25

fossé ou askune chose enpeschant li veneit en sa voie ke il
le puisse passer legerement sanz travail. E pur cestes choses
8v. li vassaus, / ¹⁾ kant il vient a la bataille le cours e le saut
a lancer le dart vers son enemy, il luy ebaist la veue e li
espaunte le quor avant ke cop li doint ne avant ke cil se 5
aparaille de defendre. Dunt Salustes conte en son livre de
Pompeye le Grant ki plusorz kant il esteit en ost od ces ki
saillèrent en teu manere sur ces enemis saillait, e od ces ke
correient correit, e od ces ki a pié ce combateient a estal
se combateit a un tinel. Ne autrement ne poit il aver venqui 10
les granz batailles ke il venqui ç'il n'eust soy e ces chi-
valers par continuel usage acostumé d'armes a porter teu feis.

Ke les juencels deivent aprendre le art de noer.

En cest disme chapitre aprent li auctors kes jovenes
chivalers deivent aprendre en esté tens le us e le art de
noer ovelement. Porquoi? Kar om ne trove pas tuz jors pont 15
prest por passer les ewes; por ce bon est ke le fuiant ou le
suiant en ost sache bien noer. Kar soventefez avient ke grant
cretine de pluie ou de neif sorvient e enporte les ponz, par
out grant peril avient de une part e de autre en ost s'il ne
sache noer. Por ce les aunciens Romains ke tant de batailles 20
e tant de perils passerent apristrent art de chose ke apartint
a chivalerie e elistrent le champ de bataille pres del flum de

1) Two words- issi ensegne - are ^{crossed out} (expunctuated) at the
beginning of 8v.

Tybre, ke après haunt des armes en puissent laver de eus
9r. poudre e suour par art de / noer. Ne mie soulement gent a
pié mes a chivalers heaumés grant profit est de haunter l'art
de noer, por eus e pur les chivals, ke nul peril ne avenge a
nonsachans en nécessité par defaute de noer. 5

Quele chose les juvenceus deivent haunter.

En cest unzime chapitre aprent li auctors coment les
aunciens novels chivalers hauntoient a escuz de sotilz ver-
gettes ou as pels. L'em trove en aunciens livres ke les jo-
venes chivalers se coveroyent de escuz rounz e de menuez
vergettes e de sotilz a manere de cleye, en teu manere ke 10
l'escu ke il eurent¹⁾ a costume commun avereit duble charge
de cleie. Derichef il doneient a juvenes chivalers maques
de fust ovelement de doble peis por espeies. E en teu manere
nun pas soulement le matin mes ensement après mirelevé has-
taient as pels. Kar le us des pels profite mult non pas 15
solement as²⁾ chivalers mes ensement a esquiers. Ne unkes ne
gravele ou champ essaia home nient vencu par armes³⁾, fors
ke ententivement esteit apris del haunt as pels. Kar touz
les pels esteient fichez en terre de touz les juvenes chi-
valers, issi ke il nes peussent noter e ke par force apar- 20
roient par pez. E li giovane chivaler se hauntoit encontre

1) MS. furent

2) as: final -s added.

3) MS. pas armes

cel pel o cele cleie e o cele maque, ausi com encontre son
9v. adversaire, ausi com o espeie ou o escu. / E ore le requist
ausi com au chef ou a la face, e ore a costé le manaceit en-
dementers k'il s'i estriveit com a trencher garez ou quisses;
e escoteit cum l'asaudreit ausi cum son adversaire fust pre- 5
sent; e en tele manere assaiereit le pel par chescun engin e
par tote manere de art de combatre. En quel penser icele cau-
tele esteit gardé ke en teu manere le jovene chivaler quant
il voudreit sun adversaire plaier ke il meimes en nule par-
tie ne soffreit plaie. 10

Coment om deit ferir poynanment.

En cest duzime chapitre aprent li auctors les juvenes
chivalers de ferir poignanment e non pas trenchaument. Estre
ce il aperneient de ferir poinanment e nun pas trenchaument.
E les Romains escharnisoient les combataunz trenchanment ke
ne poeient de leger faire veintre. Kar ki¹⁾ fiert trenchan- 15
ment, de quele manere k'il vienge, ne oscist pas sovent,
cum les entrailles seient bien defenduz e des armes e des os.
Mes encontre ce la pointe de deus unces de parfundesce est
mortele, kar il covient ke il perce les entrailles quant si
est profond. E enaprès²⁾, ki fiert trenchaument il descovre 20
e braz destre e costé; e la pointe, mes ke le cors seït co-
vert, si porra il naverer son aversairie avant k'il le voie.

1) MS. ki ki

2) MS. e enaprès is written twice.

E por ce a la chose meuz demostrer les Romains avoient teu
10r. manere / de us; ke tele cleie e tele maque estoient donez,
ke les jovenes chivalers present plus legeres armes e ver-
raies en semblant de plus gref charge, ke il delivre plus
ensur e plus egrement combatereit.

5

La manere de armeure as juvenceus.

En cest trezzime chapitre aprent li auctors les jovenes
chivalers lor armeure. Estre ce cele manere de haunt k'il
apelent armeure est baillé as mestres deu champ, ke li giovane
chivaler ki est a aprendre le quel us est gardé de la partie.
Kar om cet bien en totes batailles ke meuz combatent les 10
armez ke autres. E puis, ke entendu deit estre combien le
chivaler seit meillor ke haunte les armes ke cil ki ne les
haunte point, e ceus ki bien sunt apris d'armes meus passent
tuz lor compaignons par art de combatre; kar en teu manere
la discipline est gardee par haunt a les majors crueument. 15
E ke les mestres des armes soient regerdonez de doble louers,
e chivalers ki poi ount valu par aucune mesprise soient destreint
por receivre orge por forment; ne avant ke il feussent enclos
de lor present loer en forment, souz la presence du legion,
des seignorages e des princes k'il ce demostrassent k'il se 20
feussent esprovez e donez sus a saver totes fes ke feussent
a complir en art de chevalerie. Kar nule chose n'est plus
10v. ferme ne ¹⁾ plus loable ne plus bo/neuré de chose commune en

1) MS. me (or me?)

la quele chose chivalers bien apris habundent. Kar ne bele
vesture ne plenté de or ne de argent ne de gemmes ne de grace
enclinent les enemis a reverence ou a grace, mes soul par es-
paunter des armes se abessent. Enaprés en autres choses, si
com Catoun dit, ki aucune chose est forfeite, ke enaprés puet 5
estre amendé; les forfaiz de batailles ne receivent pas amen-
dement, o la peine suist tantost le errour. Kar ou tantost
perissent ceus ki combatent perigousement e nient sagement,
ou tornez en fuie n'osent estre outre pers as venqueors.

Coment om deit asser les cops.

En cest quatorzime chapitre aprent li auctors coment 10
les jovenes chivalers deivent asser lour coups cum as pels o
lor hantes. Mes je retorne a chose ke est avant dite: li chi-
valer ki haunte ou la maque de fust al pel ou a haunte ki est
de greinor charge que darz ke sunt a venir. En quele chose
d'armeure le mestre atende ke il seit costreint a geter a cel pel 15
ausi com a un home k'il asaie, e torne sa haunte a grant force
ke par grant destine de coup se adresce ce k'il i mettra ou
a pel ou a costé. Kar en teu manere de hant est demandé sovoir
e us e force.

La manere de seetes enginouses. /

11r. En cest quinzime chapitre aprent li auctors coment les
jovenes chivalers sunt a aprendre ententivement de le seetes -
mes de pres ou la tierce partie ou la quarte des plus jovenes
ke plus covenable porra estre repeiré - des armes de fust ou de
seetes enginouses. Iceus deit on haunter tous jors as pels; 5
mestres e ¹⁾ enginors sunt a eslire a ceste jose. E greindre
cointise i est a ajouster ke il tienent sagement le arc e ke
la destre ou la senestre mout forment paremplant, e ou reison
seit demené a icele chose ke est a ferir, e ke le oil e le co-
rage se assentent ensemble ke il avenanment sachent trere ²⁾ 10
ou a chival ou a terre. La quele art est a aprendre mester e
ententivement chescun jour garder par us e par haunt. Combien
de profit les bons archiers eient en batailles Catoun aperte-
ment demostre en livres de discipline de chivalerie; e Clau-
dius sormonta sun enemî, ki avant esteit sanz per, par plusors 15
archers ki bien esteient apri e establiz. Car Afffrican Scipio
fust a estriver par compaignie kant envers les Numantins, les
queus les oilz del pople de Rome avoient enveié, autrement ne
ce crereit il mie estre sovereign, si il ne eust mellé fundes
ou ceus ki furent eliz archers. 20

1) e : added above the line.

2) trere : final -re added above the line.

La manere de gitter peres./

11v. En cest seszime chapitre aprent li auctors coment les
jovenes chivalers deivent haunter a gitter peres. Car il co-
vent ke les plus jovenes haudent ententivement le giter de
peres a mains ou a lenges. Kar ces ki habitoient en l'isle ke
est apelé Primes troverent e haunterent le us de lenges, ke il 5
ne lesserent pas les meres ateindre nul manger a lor petiz en-
fanz for celui k'il ferirent par destinee de la pere. Ca so-
ventefez avient encontre les combatanz, mes¹⁾ k'il seient
garnis des²⁾ hauberks ou des haumes ou de autre manere de ar-
meure, e seient ferru de peres hors de lenges ou de seetes 10
grefment par destiner; mes k'il eient les membres entiers si
aportent mortel plaie. E sanz envie de sanc trere il esponte
son enemy par la pere e par le coup. Kar en toz les batailles
des aunciens est a dire a tuz les jovenes chivalers ki gittent
de fundes par mesprision ke nul travail ne est de geter la 15
pere de lenge. E a la fiez avient ke en lius perrouses ou
avoit grant plenté de peres, en tertres, ou en montaines, e
ascun fust a defendre com assaut de chaustel ou de cité, les
estranges furent destreint a venir o lenges e o peres.

1) MS. mel

2) des: final -s added

Del haunt des plums.

12r. En cest disesetisme chapitre aprent li auctors del
haunt des plums. Kar le haunt de teu manere de plums ke ceus
del Champ de Marz, apelés barbulos, tel arme deit om bailer
as plus jovenes. Kar jadis en cel pais furent deus legions
ke aveient sis mile de chivalers ke ascient e sagement 5
usoient de ce e forment, esteient apelé Barbelez; e par ceus
longtens noblement furent sustenuz tote batailles e parfetes,
deske a ce ke Dioclecian e Maximian vindrent al empire. E par
descerte de vertu ceus de Marcebarbulos Jovians e de Hercu-
lians furent acostumez estre apelé avant, e furent apris de 10
aler avant tuz autres legions. Les queus soleient apporter
barbulos assises en escuz; les queus si les chivalers cove-
nablement lançoient, il serroient veu de suivre le mester de
archer; kar lor enemis ne averoient les chivals avant que
icel arme k'il devoient giter a la main pust estre trové. 15

Coment om deit descendre de chivaus.

 En cest discetisme chapitre¹⁾ aprent li auctors coment
les jovenes chivalers deivent descendre de lor chivals. Nun
pas solement as jovenes chivalers mes a chivalers soudeors
12v. est a haunter / toutdis le assaut e le dessendre de les chi-
vals, le quel us mes ke apert seit ke il seit venu a cel age 20

1) MS. chapite

par dissimulacion. Les queus chivauls esteient mis en iver suz
covert de fust e en esté en champ, sor seuz les plus jovenes
primes desarmé acostumeement monter e après armez estoient
contremunt de munter. E tant de cure esteit ke non seulement
a destre mes ensement a senestre partiez apernoient descendre, 5
tenanz lor espeies ou lur croks hors des gaingnes. E ce fe-
soient il par ententif¹⁾ e assiduel penser; ce est a saver ke
en tumulte en bataille sanz demore monterent, ke si curieuse-
ment esteient hauntez en peys.

Comben de charge li jovencel aportera.

En cest disenefisme chapitre aprent li auctors as jovenes 10
chivalers combien de charge il apporteront. Il deivent porter
charge al montant de seisante livres e aler sovenerement par
pas de chivaler, par out en grant bosoing il poissent porter
ensemblement lor armes e lor vitaille. E ne creie nul home ke
ce seit fort a fere si l'em n'i est acostumé, kar nule chose 15
ne est tant forte ke par usage ne seit fete legiere. E ce so-
leient les anciens chivalers faire, e ce tesmoine Virgile par
ces vers:

13r. "Non secus ac patriis acer / Romanus in armis
Iniusto sub fasce viam non carpit et hostem
Ante expectatum positus stat ymagine castris."

20

1) MS. ententis

Quele manere de armes om deit user.

En cest vintisme chapitre aprent li auctors des queus maneres de armes les aunciens juvenes chivalers soleient user. Li liu demande ke nus assoium de raconter des queus maneres des armes les juvenes chivalers sunt a aprendre ou a garnir. Mes en ceste partie l'aunciane costume est del tot osté;¹⁾ car 5
ja ce ke par ensample de Gothes e de Alans e des chivalers de Tumans armes eient profitez, il aparmain les petailles estre nuz. Kar puis ke citee fu fete drekes al tens ben longement après, le ost ke fu a pé fu garni de haumes e de autre armeure. Mes quant le haunt de champestre, entrevenant, cessa par ne— 10
gligence e par peresce, les chivalers pristrent rerement e vestoient plus greves armes; kar il demandoient de empereor premerement catefractes, e puis enaprès un autre manere d'armes ke est apelé cassides. E en tele manere nos chivalers sunt sovent destrus par la multitude²⁾ des archers quant il 15
alerent encontre les Gotheis piz e testes discoverz. Kar après les pestilences ke il parvindrent dekes a touillir³⁾
13v. tanz de citez, lor cure fu tele de rendre as gent a pié heaumes, catefractes; en teu manere ke ces ke sunt ordinez nuiz en la compaignie as plaies ke il pensent de fuir e nient 20
de combatre. Car queu chose fra archer a pé sans catefracte

1) osté: the final vowel is partly effaced.

2) MS. multitudne

3) MS. to... : the remainder of this word is effaced.

ou sanz heaume k'il ne puse tenir l'escu o l'arc? E queu
chose frunt ces dragoners e les baneors en bataile, quant il
government de¹⁾ la senestre mein lor hautes, quant il averunt
lor testes e lor pez touz nuz? Mes li hauberc si est mut
gref a home a pé, e le haume, rerement par aventure, a celi 5
ki pense rerement de armes porter. Mes celui ki est a us
chescun jour ne travaille pas, mes k'il seit chargé de porter
l'un e l'autre. Mes ceus ki ne porrunt pas soffrir les travaux
de porter les aunciens garnemens des armes, lor cors desco-
vert, e sunt constreint de soffrir plaies e mort, e ke plus 10
greve chose est, k'il se pernent a certainement fuir R.p. e
en teu manere trair; demeters ke il declinent de travail e de
haunt, si oom bestes sunt tuez a tresgrant deshonor. Car dunk
a les aunciens le ost de pé esteit dit murs, for ke de tel
leu les legions resplendiseient, estre les escuz e les heau- 15
mes e catefractes; dekes i ce ke les braz senestres fusent
14r.garniz des manches / de hauberks; kar ceus a pé furent des-
treint de prendre escu sanz heumes e catefracte, e hoses de
fer en lor quisses destres. E en teu manere furent garniz ceus
ki furent combatans en la premiere eschele, e princes o les 20
hautes en la secunde eschele, e en la tierce eschele estoient²⁾
apelés³⁾ les archers. Mes ceus ke furent a tere se soleient
mettre a genoils e mettre sei entre les escuz, ke les estanuz
ne feussent plaiez des dars sorvenanz, quant bosoing fust;

1) de: written above the line.

2) MS. estoyent?

3) apelés: final -s added.

e plus deveement envaiement lor enemis, ausi com s'il feussent
reposez; des queus soventefoiz avint la victoire este faite,
com ceus o les hantes e ki primes esturent alassent entre eus.
Neporquant auncienement entre gent a pé estoient une gent ke
estoit apelez 'de leger armeure', lengours, e autre manere 5
de genz, ke estoient mis en corns nomeement, e par ceus per-
noient comencement de combatre. Mes iceus estoient esluz e
tresbien hauntez e tres ignaus, ne il n'esteient pas de la
manere de mouz ki se mettent en bataille avant ke necessité
les destreigne¹⁾; e soleient estre receu en comencement de 10
legions e en teu manere com costume fu, ke eschele fust en
14v. pes. Deske pres al present age ke toz les chivalers / usasent
des peaus, les queus tele manere de gent apelent Pannonikes.
La quele chose esteit por ce garde, ke pesante heaume ne
fust veu sor home en bataille, mes ke il aportast tuz jors 15
ascune chose en son chef. Kar tele manere d'armes des queus
genz a pé usoient esteient apelé pilez, de sotil fer forgé
bien fiché devant o treis corners e de nef unces pesant. La
quel arme quant el est fiché en l'escu ne puet estre trenché,
e si il seit forment e sagement envoié e adrescé de bone main 20
il depece de leger le hauberc; teu manere de arme si apelom
nus relement darz. Mes les barbarins ki sunt a pé usent no-
meement de iceus, si les apelent libres e portent doble ou
treble en batailles. Estre se a savoir fait ke chivaler ki
tele manere d'arme deit avant mettre, il deit aver le senestre 25

1) MS. desteigne

pé toz jorz avant; kar en tele manere est le cop plus felon e plus desvé de dars bien croullés. Mes quant om vient a ce ke il apelent pilet, dunk deit om combatre main o main o espeies; dunc devereient les chivalers tuz jors aver le destre pé avant, ke lor costez seient loins de lor enemis, k'il ne puissent recevoir plaie, e plus prochein seit le destre k'il pussent fere 5
15r.plaie. E por ce il covent ke les jove/nes chivalers seient a- pris a eus defendre de tote manere de art de combatre e de tote manere de aunciens armes. Kar mester est ke il prengent hardiesce e ke il deviengent plus egres, car ki est bien garni, 10
e piz e chief, ne doute plaie.

Des garnisons des herberges e la porveiance.

En ce vintisme e un chapitre aprent li auctors les juvenes chivalers de garnison des herberges. Kar le garnison de herberges deit li juvenes chivaler aprendre, car nule rien n'est trové en bataille si covenable ne si sauvable chose com 15
est garnison en herberge. Car si les herberges seient adreit establiz en teu manere ke par entreval puissent les chivalers nuiz e jors enseur passer, issi ke lor enemis lor assege; ke il le puissent o eus porter partout ausi cum une cité enmuré. Mes tele manere de savoir avoient rerement; car nul home ne 20
establi unkes herberges o silés fossez ne o teus afichemenz; si de jor ou de nuit par sorvenue de estrange gent de ost a chival nous avom seu soventefez plusors. Car non pas seulement

ceus qui s'afient soffrent iceus choses sanz herberges; mes
quant il comencent a doner leu par ascun cas a compaignie,
15v. donc n'ont il pas garnisons de herberges dont / les puissent
receivre, e a manere de bestes plusors cheent; ne lor fin ne
est pas de morir avant ke volunté seit a lor enemis de eus 5
occire.

En quel lu l'em deit herbeger.

En cest vint e deusime chapitre aprent li auctors as
jovenes chivalers ke il sachent en queus leuz les herberges
sunt a faire e a fonder. Les herberges sunt sovenerement a
faire en seur leu e pres de son enemis, e la ou il i eit 10
plenté de boys, de ewe, e de vitaile; e si on i deit aukes
longement demorer, ke le leu seit eslu sein e covenable.
E ensement om se deit porveier ke nule montaingne ne seit
veisin al herbergerie, ne pres ou plus haut, ke son adver-
sarie i puisse faire un autre herbergerie. E om deit bien 15
juger ke le champ ne seit ¹⁾ acostumé de estre plein de ewe ne
de cretine, e par iceu cas le ost sofre force. Por nombre de
chivalers ou de gent a pé, pur ce sunt les herbergeries a
garnir, ke greignur multitude n'i venge en petite choses,
ne ke nombre de poi de gent ne seit destreint²⁾ de passer 20
en plus larges leuis³⁾ ke mester est.

1) MS. no

2) destreint: -r- added above the line.

3) After leuis a second plus is effaced.

Le ordeinement des herbergeries.

En cest vint e treisime chapitre aprent li auctors en
16r. quele manere les herberges deivent estre / ordinez. A la fez
deivent estre quarrez, a la fie de treis corners, a la fie
demi ronz, si com mester est e si com le leu demande. Car
la porte ke est apelé provosterie deit estre vers l'est ou 5
a cel lui ke est encontre lor enemy, ou si il est en teu ma-
nere fait il deit atendre cele partie a la quele le ost deit
issir; entre la quele partie les premiers centeines, c'est a
dire les compainies des paviluns, ount estendu lor baneres.
De la curiane porte après, ke est dite après la provosterie, 10
ert cele porte; par la quele les chivalers ki averont mes-
pris e forfait sunt mené hors a peine.

Les garnitemenz de herbergeries.

En cest chapitre aprent li auctors coment les herberges
deivent estre garnies. Car treble manere de garison est de
herbergeries, e chescune diverse. Car si tresgrant mesters 15
est, l'en estachera hors de la terre les truhcs ki sunt en-
racinez, e de ceus fra om un hau paliz ausi com fust un mur
trés pés desus la terre, issi ke devant seit une fossé de la
quele les arbres sunt levez; enaprès seit un autre fossé le-
vee de quatre pés de lé e de sis pés de haut. Mes la ou la 20
greinor force e plus cruel aparra des enemis, la seit une
16v. tresbone¹⁾/ fossé faite ke environe tote la herbergerie, issi

1) After tresbone, e tresfran/che is expunctuated.

ki cele fossé eit dusze pés de lé,¹⁾ e haut, ke il appellent
parfundesse, de neof pés. E desor, les hayes faites deça e
dela e de la terre ke serra aportee e levee de cele fossee,
e crest²⁾ en haut de quatre pés. Si seit fait ke il seit de
.xiii. pés de ~~hant~~ e de .xii. pés de lé; desus le quel un 5
palis, de fust tresfort. ke chivalers soloient apporter, seit
fichez devant. Ke les legions ki sunt en les herberges
puissent touz jors aver prest teu manere de garison si
mesters est.

Autre manere de garnisement.

En cest vint e utime chapitre aprent li auctors coment 10
les herberges deivent estre garniz quant lor enemí apiert.
Mes legerement porront³⁾ il garnir lor herberges quant lor
adversaires sunt absent; mes si lor enemí seit pres de eus,
donc tuz ceus ke sunt a chival e la meité de gent a pé sei-
ent ordinez en l'eschele a deboter l'assaut de lor enemí, e 15
les autres après eus garnissent les herberges; e par les
fossez formez seit demostré la quele serra la premiere tente,
e secunde e la terce. Quant tut ert compli ke mestiers ert
al l'ovre, donc serra la fossé garde e mesuree par le centu-
rion, ki est mestre de cent chivalers, e vengeance seit pris 20
de ceus ki plus lentement e perigousement averont overé. E /

1) lé: a second e is added above the line.

2) crest: a final e is added above the line.

3) A first porrunt is expunctuated.

17r. a cest mester deit om mettre un jovene chivaler ki, quant mester serra, puisse garnir les herbergeries igneusement e cointement sanz destorbance.

La manere de haunt des jovenes chivalers.

En cest chapitre aprent li auctors en quele manere les jovenes chivalers deivent haunter. Nule chose ne sout tant 5
aider en bataille com chivalers ordinez par compainies e par escheles, ke il gardent lor ordre par assiduel haunt, ne ke il ne assemblent pas trop lor compaignie ne trop ne laschent plus ke mesters est. Kar si il sunt trop estreit e trop sarré donc perdent il espace de combatre e funt destor- 10
bance a eus mesmes. E en teu manere rerement entre les cliers donerent a lor enemis entree de eus damager. Donc convient par force totes choses estre confundues par pour, si lor enemy aproche a lor dos derere a combatre par tote la compaignie. Por ce les jovenes chivalers sunt tus jorz a 15
mener avant en champ e a drescer en l'eschele solonc ordre de matricle, issi ke premerement seit la compaignie simplement estendue, ke les estendues ne seient trop longues ne trop cortes, ne ke nul chivaler seit trop loing de autre for par dreit espace. Donc deit om comander ke il doblent 20

17v. lor compaignie, issi ke en le premer / assaut, al quel il soleient respondre, ordre seit gardé. Au tiers ost comaunder ke il establissent¹⁾ lor eschele sodainement. Quant ce serra

1) MS. estabissent

fait, donc sera cele compaignie mue en treis parties, ke il
apelent cuneum, kar tel ordeinement soleit mult aider en ba-
taille. Ensement il est comandé ke il aprennent les roun-
desces, par queu manere, quant force de lor enemis assaut lor
compaignie, coment il soleient contre ester as chivalers bien 5
endurez, ke tote la multitudine ne tornast a fuite ne ke greve
damage avenist; ke si les jovenes chivalers le sachent e a-
parseivent par assiduel penser, plus legerement se gardent
en icele bataille.

Combien de espace les chivalers deivent aler e repairer.

En cest chapitre aprent li auctors en combien d'espace 10
les chivalers deivent aler e repairer, ou quantes fez en le
meis deivent les chivalers hanter lor aler quant il sunt ame-
nés hors. Estre ce aunciane costume feu en le tens Auguste e
Adrian ke il garderent en lor constitucions ke ceus a chival
e ceus a pez feisent treis fiez en le meis lor hors aler; 15
kar il n'apelent pas teu manere de haunt par noun¹⁾. De dis
mile pas esteyent comandez ceus ki bien furent apri de tote
maneres d'ars aler e venir par pas de chivaler en lor herber-
18r. geries, issi ke il alassent autrevez ascu/ne partie de chemin
par plus egre cours si mesters fust. E²⁾ les gens a chival 20
departies par compaignies e armez parfesoient ensement taunt
de chemin, issi ke owelement suiassent a la meité de taunt,

1) par noun: mostly effaced, added above the line.

2) MS. e e

e a la fie donassent leu e aparilassent ascuns assaut par re-
cours. Ne mie soulement en le champ, mes ensement en clivoses
e en hauz leuz le un e le autre eschele fust contremunt aforcé,
e munter¹⁾ e avaler, ke nule chose ne nul cas ne puist avenir
as combataunz de tot, ke les bons chivaliers ne ussent avant 5
apris par assiduel haunt.

Le amonestement de chivalers de la vertu de Rome.

En cest vint e utisme chapitre aprent li auctors les jo-
venes chivalers de amonestement de chose ke apartient a chi-
valerie, e de la vertu de Rome. O vus, empereour nient vencuz,
tuz ces choses ke je ai apri de tuz auctors, ki me maundeient 10
par lettres, par grant agard de devocion e de foi, la disci-
pline de chose ke apent a chivalerie, en cest liveret le ai
assemblé overtement, ki en delit e en haunt de juvenes chiva-
lers, ke si ascun vult estre ententif de suivre l'ancienne vertu
de chivalerie, de legier porra savoir le haunt e se i aforcer. 15
Kar la chalour²⁾ de Martis, deu de bataile, ne forsligna pas
18v. en hommes, ke les ter/res ne seient effetes ke engendrèrent
les Romains. Ne valurent pas grantment jadis icele gent de
Epire par armes? E les Macidoneis e ceus de Tessaile ne sor-
monterent il pas ces de Perce e les suierent e percierent la 20
terre deskes en Ynde? E aperte chose est ke ceus de Trace e

1) munter: final -r added above the line.

2) MS. colour originally; h is added above the line,
and o altered to a.

de Nace e de Meise e cel autre gent furent touz jors si combatanz, ke il conferment par fable ke le deu de bataille Marz vint de eus e fu né de eus. Longes seroit de estriver de counter les forces de totes contrees e de tote manere de gent, com trestouz seient al comandement del empire de Rome. Mes la plus longteine seurté de pes outrepassa les offices, partie au delit de udivisce e partie a delicieuse choses. E en tele manere la cure del haunt de chivalerie primes fu negligent, e après se feint, e pus après au dereint tot fu mis en obli-
aunce e a nient; ne nul se deit esmerveiller si ee avint
quant il vindrent a grant age; com la premiere bataille de Affrike, ke est passé .xxiii. anz ou plus, les Romeins eurent partot la victorie por la odivesce e largesce de lor armes qui enfeblisoient¹⁾; ke la seconde bataille de Affrike ces d'Espaine Anibals ne peurent estre lor pers. E quant tanz de
conseillers e tanz de ducs e tant de genz esteient hors en-
19r.veiez, dumc al / dereint les Romeins vindrent a victorie,
por ce ke il aveient tant apri le us e le haunt de chivalerie. E por ce les juvenes chivalers sunt tuz jors a aprendre; kar plus profitable chose de aprendre les soens des armes ke
allower autres trop cher.

1) MS. enfeblisciēs

BOOK II

Ci comence le second livre.

Si comence le second livre de Fflavian e Vexate e Renate de
epitome de comentaries e des institutions de chose ke apent
a chivalerie, e ensement de Trajan e de Adrian e de Frontin
Augustin.

Les establissemenz.

En cest premer chapitre del second livre dist li auctor 5
ke l'em deit retenir les establissemenz de majors si com fu-
rent aparilez plenerement e sagement. Declaracion est fait en
continueles batailles e victories ke la est touz jors profit
de choses ou art provee est sanz dotance. Mes vostre tran-
quillité, sire empereor nen vencu, porra conceivre plus hautes 10
choses par conseil ke terrien penser desire des aunciez livres,
com il passait avant cel antiquité par faiz. Por ce m'en sui
je aparceu de ensemble prendre brevement ices choses par
lettres a vostre majesté, autresi bien a dire com a reco-
19v. noistre; estrif sovent fu entre devocion / e hounte. Quele 15
chose¹⁾ est plus hardie chose ke demostrer²⁾ ascune chos del
us e de la discipline de batailles a seyngnor ou a prince ki
est a seignorer de humaine ligne e de totes genz estranges,
si il ne ust par aventure comandé de estre fait ce k'il aveit
fait? E derichief ne mie obeir as mandemens de si grant em- 20
pereor plenerement esteit veu de sacrilege ou de peril. Car

1) chose: final -e added above the line.

2) demostrer: final -r added above the line.

par merveilouse manere puisse je estre hardi en soffrant de-
menters ke je dout de estre veu plus hardi si je le niasse.
A la quele folie la parmenableté de vostre indulgence avant
alant me fist hardi; kar je offri le livre jadis, ausi com
serjant, del delit e del haunt des jovenes chivalers, e ne- 5
porquant ne departi pas blame; ne doute n'avoie de parfaire
le ovre de mon aindeggré sanz peine.

La devisioun des choses ke apartienent a chivalerie.

En cest chapitre aprent li auctors en quantes maneres
la chose ke apartient a chivalerie serra devisé, si com li
noble auctor de latin tesmonie en le comencement de son dité, 10
ke est par armes e par forces. Ceste est departie en treis
parties: a gent a chival e a gent a pé e as nefes as mariners.
Gent a chival por ce sunt dit a semblance des eles, por ce ke
il se defendent de ambes parties com le¹⁾ fait le oisel; les
20r. compaignies ke ore sunt apelé banerez / sunt dites de une ma- 15
nere de veil, dunt il usent sor²⁾ lor chefs. Un autre manere
i ad de gent a chival, ke sunt apelé legionayres, por ce ke
il sunt entrelacez as legions; e a l'ensample de eus sunt il
apris des choses de fer de ceus ki sunt en nefes en mer. Si ad
il deus maneres: une manere est de liburnes, e autre manere 20
de luseriens. Les champs sunt a chivalers, les mers ou les
flumes sunt a nefes, les montaignes e les cités e les plaines

1) MS. le le

2) MS. sol

sunt a gent a pié. Dunt il est entendu ke plus comune chose
est e plus porront valer gent a pé, ke porrunt aler partot;
e il sunt a mendre coust e a mendre despens ke chivalers. Le
ost si prist son non de tele manere de overe¹⁾ hanter e de tele
manere de chose e de haunt, ke jamés ne li estovereit oblir 5
son noun. Cele gent a pé si depart il en deus maneres, ke la
une partie as compaignons fust en aide e l'autre partie esteit
enveié a genz sorvenans; car la vertu de Rome passe les autres
com de chivalerie de legions par ordeinement. Legion si est dit
de eleccion, kar issi le volent il; car c'est le eslite de chi- 10
valers en legions, ceus ki provent les chivalers mettent fei
e entente. Costume fu de escrivre meindre nombre de chivalers
en ayde ke en legion²⁾.

Ke jofnes chivalers sachent quei est entre legion e aide./

20v. En cest chapitre aprent li auctors ke les juvenes chiva-
lers sachent quei est entre legions e aides. Les Gregeis e 15
les Dardaneis aveient en chescune compaignie .viii. mile de
genz armez. Ffranceis e cele gent de estrange nations usient
de autre maneres de compaignies en batailles, en les queus
estoient sis mile gent armez; a la fiez³⁾ soleient⁴⁾ plus
chivaucher. La difference entre legion e aide vos dirai. Ces 20
sunt apelez aideres ki sunt amené en aide de divers lius e de

1) overe: -e- added above the line.

2) A second legion^{in red ink} is here effaced.

3) (a) la fiez: added in margin, for expunctuated en dementers.

4) After soleient, il is expunctuated.

divers nombres venans, ne il n'i ad entre eus aprise ne co-
noissance, ne il ne se consentent pas ensemble par nul effect.
Teus establies e autre us unt il de armes entre eus. Pur ce
covient k'il vengent plus tart a victorie, ki ce descordent
avant k'il combatent. Car en granz espleiz mout vaut a toz 5
les chivalers de estre converti par signifiante de un coman-
dement; il ne porrunt pas ouvelement paremplir les comande-
menz ke avant ne furent pas assemblé. Neporquant ises meimes
choses si il seient esforcez pres chescun jour par divers
haunz solempnement, ne aident il pas meinement. Car les aides 10
soleient estre ajoint par compaignie a les legions cum en
legier armeure, ke en eus fust greignor aide de combatre ke
21r. en le principal aide. Ka la legion plenere deit tenir / a
lor propre compaignie o greve armeure, ce est o les ferren-
taires e o archiers e o lengours e o arblasters o lor propre 15
gent a chival e a eus suzmis de la legion; e k'il tiengens
a ces meimes par un corage, par un assent com matricle,
quant garnist les herbergeries e apreingne la compaignie,
e leaument se porte de chescune part parfitement, par nule
manere de aide a ceus dehors ki sunt estraunges, car ce so- 20
leit a la fie sormonter la multitude de gent enemis. C'est
enseignement ke la vertu komeine venqui toz jors o ses le-
gions, combatant tant com ele voleit ou cum nature parmist.

Quel encheison fet legion defaillir.

En cest chapitre aprent li auctors as juvenes chivalers¹⁾
 quel encheison fist les legions defaillir. Le noun de legion
 parmaint unkore en ost, mes par peresce e negligence des so-
 vereins tens la force si est depescee, mes quant la virone-
 ment de vertu porprist les lowers, e par grace furent avaun- 5
 cez²⁾ les chivalers ki soleient estre avancez par travail.
 Enaprés autres ne sunt pas souzmis as compaignies. Car il
 covent les uns enfeblir par maladie, e les autres par diverse
 encheisons covient defaillir; si compaignie ne vienge en lu
 de³⁾ cius ki departiront chescun an ou chescun meis, ja ce 10
 21v. ke le ost ke est plentivous seit defailli. Ou au/tre enchei-
 son est por quei les legions defaillent: les uns pur grant
 travail e les autres pur grant haunt de greves armes, e les
 plusors, e les uns por les petis souz ou par greve discipline
 ou par trop chivaucher. Por ce se hastent il en aydes passer 15
 les serements de chivalerie e aler al autre partie ou il i
 ad mendre travail e plus de soud. Caton le sage dit al prince
 del ost kant il n'esteit pas vencu par armes k'il aveit so-
 vent oi dire k'il creoit ke plus profit serreit e plus com-
 mune chose a mettre en escrit la discepline de chivalerie. 20
 Car il sunt de un age ke forment sunt fait; mes ces ke sunt
 mis en escrit por profit de comune chose sunt tuz jorz du-
 rable. E issi firent autres plusors, mes nomeement Fidestin

1) MS. chualers

2) avauncez: final -z added.

3) de: added above the line.

de Mont Trajane, ke esteit¹⁾ prové de teu manere de noblesse
e de teu manere de establissement e de teu manere de comande-
menz. Ces enseignemes, tant com je porrai, leaument e estreï-
naument marcherai. Car com il face ces²⁾ meismes despenses,
e ost pereçousement ordiné ne vaut pas solement a ceus ke 5
sunt ore mes a ceus ki sunt a venir, e vus, empereor ~~auguste~~,
si par la provision de vostre seignorie e le ordeinement
22r. tresfort des armes seit aparilē, e la dissimula/cion des
avant diz seit amendé.

Combien des legions serront en bataille amenez.

En cest chapitre aprent li auctours combien des legions 10
sunt a mener en bataille. L'em trove en touz auctors ke tuz
princes de batailles ne amenerent pas plus de plenté de gent
encontre lor enemis, fors doble legions, estre aide de autre
compaignie. E tant de haunt estoit en eus e tant de loiauté,
ke la ou deus legions esteient nule gent ne lor poreit contre 15
ester. Por la quele chose je promet ke je espondrai l'or-
deinement del auncien legion solonc la riule de dreiture de
chivalerie. La quele descripcion mes ki ele eit esté obscuré
sera veu plus clere, ne la blame ne covient pas estre mis sor
mei, mes a la difficulté de cele chose. E por ce sovent sunt 20
a relire en corage, ke en memorie seient entendu. Les queus

1) esteit: final -t added above the line.

2) MS. cei

choses puissent estre compris, kar chose ki est comune ne serra jamés vencue, quant li empereor aparcevera del art de chivalerie face tant de ost¹⁾ com il voudra en batailles.

Coment la legion deit estre estableie.

En cest chapitre aprent li auctors coment la legion
22v. deit estre estableie. Quant les jovenes chivalers / serront 5
esleuz ententivement de cors e de corages e se sunt donez
e ajostez as haunz cotidieins quatre meis ou plus, par co-
mandement e par devinement ke la legion del prince²⁾ nient
vencu a formé. Kar les chivalers ki sunt mostrez escriz o
les matricles en poins ke sunt a veintre soleient jurer, e 10
por ce sunt ce dit serement de chivalers; car il jurent
par Deu e par Seint Espirit e par la seignorie al empereor,
ki solonc Deu est a amer e a cotefier a humaine lygne. Car
quant le empereor receit le non de Auguste il est leal a
Deu, ausi com cil fust present corporeument, e o grant de- 15
vacion le deit servir. Car primat ou chivaler sert bien
Deu quant il eime celui ki regne souz Deu ke tot fist. Car
chivalers jurent ke il front totes choses ke le emperor co-
mandera noblement, e jamés ne guerpiron t chivalerie por
morir, car ce est commune chose. 20

1) MS. oz: -z is expunctuated and -st added above.

2) After prince a first a formé is expunctuated.

Quanz compaignies sunt en une legion.

En cest japitre aprent li auctors quanz compaignies sunt
en une legion. Ce est a sovoir ke dis compaignies deivent estre
en une legion. Mes la premere compaignie e le nombre des chi-
23r. valers passe les autres de digneté; car ele / demande les
meillors chivalers e esluz par ligne e par institucion. Ceste
reseit¹⁾ le egle, ke est le principal signe en le ost de Rome
tuz jors²⁾; e tote la noble legion ices ymages del empereor,
ce est a dire ces signes, funt a honurer e a orer, si com Deu
meimes fust enpresent. Ceste premere compaignie si ad de gent
a pé mil e cent e .v., e de gent a chival as haubercs .c. e 10
.xx. e dusze, si est apelé la compaignie miliana. Ceste com-
paignie est chef de la legion, e quant est a combatre, ceste
compaignie ert premerement ordinee. La seconde compaignie ad
de gent a pé .v. cenx e .l. e .v., e de gent a chival .lx. e
.vi., si est la compaignie apelé cinquanteine. La terce com- 15
paignie ensement ad de gent a pé cinc .c. e .lv., e de gent a
chival .lxvi.; mes en ceste terce compaignie covient ke soi-
ent plus vaillante gent e bien esprové e bien entecché, por
ce ke ele serra tuz jors en mi. La quarte compaignie avera de
gent a pé cinc cenx e .lv., de gent a chival .lxvi. Mes la 20
quinte compaignie desire mut de aver nobles chivalers, car si
com la premere est mise en la destre cornere, issi serra la
23v. quinte compaignie mise e ordinee en la senestre / cornere.

1) MS. rescut: -c- and the first stave of u are expunctuated;
e is added above c.

2) MS. jorus

Ices cinc compaignies sunt ordineez en la premere eschele. La
sisme compaignie ad de gent a pé .v. cenx e .lv., e de gent a
chival .lxvi.; en cele compaignie deivent estre les meillors
jovenes chivalers esleuz, por ce ke en la premere¹⁾ compaignie
après le egle e les ymages le empereor la siste compaignie 5
serra. La setisme compaignie si ad de gent a pé .v.c. e .lv.,
e de gent a chival .lxvi. Le utisme compaignie si ad de gent
a pé .v.²⁾ cenx e .lv., e de gent a chival .lxvi.; mes icele de-
sire de aver mut hardie gent, por ce ke ele est touz jorz en
la secunde eschele en milieu. La nofisme compaignie si ad de 10
gent a pé .v.c. e .lv., e de gent a chival .lxvi.; e cele
compaignie soleit toz jors aver bone compaignie, por ce ke
ele avera la secunde cornere en la secunde eschele. De ces
dis compaignies seit faite une plenere legion ke avera de
gent a pé .vi. milers, e de gent a chival .vii.c. e .xxx. 15
Mendre nombre de gent armez ne deivent pas estre en une le-
gion; mes greinor nombre soleit estre jadis; non pas une com-
paignie mes as autres serra comandé de recevoir milers.

Les offices des princes e des governors de ost e de legions.

En cest chapitre demoustre li auctors les nouns e les
24r. offices de princes e des gover/nors del ost e des legions. 20
Ce dit le auctor: Je voil demostrer par proprement parler
les auncienes exposicions des legions par ordre e les nouns

1) MS. prememere. 2) MS. .vi. originally; i effaced.

des princes, des principaus chivalers e les dignitez solonc
le ordre ke est¹⁾ ore. Le plus principal prince del ost après
l'empereor serra enveié en le ost par sa seinte lettre; e li
autre mendre prince après serra apelé, por ce ke il ira de-
vaunt tuz les autres chivalers del ost, e cel non tribu fu 5
primes apelé e trové a Rome en le tens Romuli. Ordinaires
sunt dit ceus ki primes en bataille asseront la gent ordi-
neement par ordre. Augustales sunt apelés ceus ki sunt
joinz as ordinaires par l'empereor. Fflaviales sunt apelez
ceus ki sunt joint as Augustales secund, e par le dive Vas- 10
pasian sunt ajoint as ordinaires e as legions; e après, ceus
ki porteront le egle; e ymaginaires ki porteront le ymage
l'empereor. E gent desirez mout en batailles ces sunt fisi-
ciens e surrurgiens por garir les plaiez; e baneors e dra-
goneires e criers ki crierunt par le ost e par les compaign- 15
~~gn~~ies le comandement le empereor e son ban quant le ost movera
ver bataille; e gent ke garderunt le champ ke par lor ovres
24v. e par lor vertu s'enhar/dira l'ost e esbaudira; e autre
manere de gent de mester ke irront devant e esliront leu
as herbergeries; e beneficiers ki serront avancez par les 20
benefices des princes. Menestrals ou tabors e busines e ou
autres estrumenz ke serront entendanz as chivalers, ki par
lor corns e par lor busines e par autres estrumenz ou par
lor lange somondrent le ost a la bataile. Gent ou doble ar-
meure, por ce k'il resevrent doble soud; e gent ou simple 25

1) MS. ost

armeure, ke irront prendre les herbergeries e les lius ou il
fichiront lor tentes e les ostels en citez. Gent ou simple
colers e ou doble colers, car costume fu a Rome ke ki bien
le feist en bataille avereit un coler de or entor sun col
por victorie, e ki meuz le fist avereit doble; e de ce vin- 5
drent les provendres ke sunt en hautes esglises. E plusors
autres offices furent jadis ke ne sunt pas ore; e autres
nouns les aunciens aveient ke nus ne usom pas.

Nequedent l'auciene costume feu ke cil ki portait le
egle fust premerement avancé en la legion du prince del ost, 10
ne mie solement por ce ke il porte le égle mes por ce ke il
25r. gouverne .cccc. chivalers en / la premiere eschele, si est ape-
lé centeners. Icestui avoit les profiz e les lowers e les
descertes de tote la legion. En tens Astuti¹⁾ aveit il .ii.
centaines. Li prince de la secunde compaignie k'il apelent 15
ducentener, por ce ke il gouverne cent e demi²⁾, a lui par-
tiennent a ordiner pres d'iloc totes choses ke sunt a la le-
gion; derichef Astutus³⁾ le secund prince ki gouverne cent
homes e .l. E en teu manere par .x. centaines esteient go-
vernez touz iceus de la legion. E par les honors e les dons 20
ke ces deservirent e pristrent, les autres chivalers des
compaignies de la legion pristrent ensample de estre de ver-
tu e de recevoir plus granz louers. Onkore i aveit des autres

1) Astuti: added above the line.

2) deus added above the line before cent e demi is ex-
punctuated in the MS.

3) Astutus: added above the line.

centeines ki gardoient totes autres centeines, ki oncore sunt
apelé centeinors. Il i aveient autres ki gardoient diseines
de chivalers, ki furent apelé dens e ore sunt apelé chef de
la compaignie. La seconde compaignie avait centeines .v.; en-
semblement la terce compaignie e la quarte e issi touz jors avant 5
deskes a la disme compaignie. En tote la legion estoient cen-
turions .lv.

Del office des provost.

25v. En cest chapitre aprent li auctors del office du / pro-
vost de la legion. Mes messagers esteient enveiez par conseil
des princes l'empereor as ost¹⁾, par les queus les aydes e 10
toz les legions esteient justisez en ordeinement de pes ou
en necessitez de batailles; en les queus covient ore ke les
plus nobles mestres de chivalers seient a ce entendant, des
queus non solement deus legions mes plusors nombres sunt go-
vernez. Avant esteit le provost de la legion juge e avait 15
continuelement dignité del premer ordre, ki avait tresgrant
poer quant le messenger ne fu pas, ausi com son vicaire. Les
autres princes ou ces ki avaient les centeines ou li autres
chivalers gardoient ces comandemenz, si com il les fist crier
par l'ost de son crior. Si ascun chivaler mesfesist en ascune 20
chose, par l'auctorité de provost de la legion esteit mis a
peine. Les armes de toz les chivalers e chivals e vitaille

M) MS. oz: -z is expunctuated and -st added above.

tot apendeit a sa cure. Il aveit l'ost a discipliner, ne mie
solement gent a pé mes ensement gent a chival, il en fui gar-
dein e comandor de tot ensemble. E il fui ententif e sobre e
noblement governoit par ces bones overaignes la legion ke li
fu liveree, e o grant devocion les aprist, kar il savoit ke 5
26r. par ce porroit / a hautesse e a vertu de sa provosterie venir¹⁾

Le office des provosts des herbergeries.

En cest chapitre aprent li auctors del office des pro-
vost de herbergeries. Jadis estoit un provost des herberge-
ries, mes k'il esteit plus bas de dignetez si fui il occupé
a meines causes, car par lui esteient governez les herbergeries 10
e les estimacions des fossez, e ostels as chivalers e plu-
sors autres choses. Estre ce les malades del ost e les mires
ki les savoient e les despenses k'il feseient, tot fui or-
diné par lui e par sa cointise. E ensement totes maneres de
ferrement ke apartint al ost com en fossez fere ou en arblas- 15
tes ou en autre ferremez, de totes choses si nomeez prist il
garde. E il fui eslu le plus sage de tuz e meus esprové de
chivalerie, ke il pust aprendre as autres ce k'il meimes
aveit appris e fait.

1) venir^{*}: added above the line.

Le office de provost des fevres.

En cest chapitre aprent li auctors del office de provost
des fevres. Estre ce chescune legion si ad fevres, enginors,¹⁾
apernors, carpenters, ferroures e autres menestreus, e a fere
meisons e mansions, e engins e tours de fust e autres choses,
par les queus les citez de lor adversaires sunt assailiz ou / 5
26v. fenduz; e ke il seient apareilez proprement de faire armes e
totes maneres de armeures, e faire noveles, e les veilles
amender en tote manere. E ce esteit sa cure e son office, ne-
meement ke nule rien ne fausist en le ost ke aparteneit²⁾ a
son office, com de fevre e de charpenter, deske il puissent 10
venir souz terre as herbergeries ou as citez la ou il voleient.
E de ceus esteit propre juge touz jorz le provost des fevres.

Le office de conestables des chivalers.

En cest chapitre aprent li auctors del office de cones-
tablie des chivalers. Nous avom dit ke une legion deit aver
dis compaignies. Mes la premiere esteit de un miller, en la 15
quele esteient chivalers vaillanz de sen, de vertu, de force,
e de linage e de aprise, e un prince ke les gouvernoit ki plus
valust ke nul de eus d'armes, de science, e de vertu de cors
e de honesteté des mours. Les autres compaignies esteient go-
verneez si com plust as provost ki esteient souz le prince. 20

1) MS. enginois: the second i is expunctuated and r added above.

2) MS. apatint: -tint is expunctuated and -rteneit^{*} added above.

Les chivalers esteient gardez par si grant cure de haunt, non
soulement les princes ou les provoz comandeient lor compaignons
a eus subgez penser d'armes chescun jour, mes les chivalers
amonesterent les princes par lor propre ensample al haunt des
27r. armes par parfite art. Issi ke / le sen e la cointise e la cure 5
del prince des chivalers, c'est a dire del conestable, est loer
quant le chivaler s'en part bien apris des armes par discipline,
e chivaler bien armé e bien garni par haunt.

Des centeneires e des autres compaignies de gent a pé.

En cest chapitre aprent li auctors des centeiners e des
armes de gent a pé. La premiere banere de tote la legion est le 10
egle. Par totes les autres compaignies sunt les dragons aportez
en bataille de dragoners. Mes les auncienz, par ce ke il sa-
veient les compaignies e les escheles e tel ordeinement has-
tivement estre destorbez en bataille e estre confundues, ke ce
n'avint mes il despartirent les compaignies en centeines, e a 15
touz centeines establirent baneres en tele manere ke en ches-
cune banere fust owele compaignie; e ke il feussent mis en
escriit combien il esteient a chescune banere, ke les chivalers
ki veissent l'escriit ne mespreissent pas a eslire les chiva-
lers en compaignies quant vendreit a la force. Ensement les 20
centurions, k'il apelent ore centeines, trop feurent comba-
taunz e hardis, e touz furent haubergez e haumez e o cretez
27v. sur lor testes, k'il peussent plus legerement estre /¹⁾ conu;

1) plus legerement is repeated at the beginning of 27v.

e issi apporterent e gouvernerent lor centeines, ke nul errour
n'i feust la ou cent chivalers feussent; ens ne suirent nient
soulement lor banere, mes lor centeinour aporta le signe
amont en son heaume desor sa teste. E cil departi derichef
les centeines en compagnies, ke la ou .x. chivalers feussent
a un pavilon, ke un fust lor dizeiner, ausi com chef de eus.
Une compagnie de .x. chivalers si est apelé une poignee,
por ce k'il ferroient touz jors ensemble e combatoient.

5

E ausi bien i ad teles compagnies ki sunt apelé di-
zeines ou poignees de gent a chival com de gent a pé; e une
compagnie de gent a chival en legions si ad .xxxii. dizeines;
e celi ki est lor chef, si est apelé dizeiner. Kar cent feiz
dis de gent a pé sunt governez sous un centeiner e souz une
banere ensement; .xxxii. dizeines de gent a chival sunt go-
vernez souz un dizeiner e souz une banere. Estre ce si com
le centeiner est a eslire, ke il seit home de bel estature
e de grant force, ki bien sache lancer les lances e les darz
e autres maneres d'armes sagement e forciblement, e ki bien
sache combatre de espeie e sagement son escu porter; e ke il
28r. sache e eit / apris totes maneres de arz de combatre e de
armeure, e ke il seit vaillant e sobre, e bien se sache de-
mener a totes choses faire ke sunt comandez, e plus prest seit
a faire ke a monester; e ke il aprenge a ces compagnons le
hant e le art des armes e k'il seient bien vestuz e chaucez,
e ke touz lor armes seient bien forbiz e roullez e bien lu-
sanz. Ensement le dizeiner est a eslire ki deit estre chef

10

15

20

25

de la compaignie a chivalers; premerement k'il seit noble de
cors, e bien armez de haubercs e de totes maneres des armes,
e noblement atiré a grant merveille e ou grant devocion, e
ki bien puisse son chival monter e forciblement chivaucher;
e k'il seit queintes, k'il sache bien e sagement trere de 5
seetes, e k'il sache bien norrir e aprendre ceus ki sunt souz
sa garde a totes choses faire ke bataille demande com gent a
chival, e k'il les destreigne a faire nets lor haubercs e lor
heaumes e toz lor autres armeures. Car c'est une chose ke mult
esbait e espaunte enemi en ost: c'est a saver armes bien cle- 10
res e bien luissanz. Qui creit nul chivaler estre hardi ou
combatant quant il ad les armes roillés e ordés e soilleez?

28v. Non pas seulement gent / a chival mes ensement les chivals
covient om daunter e aprendre par assiduel travail. Car iceste
cure partient al dizeinour, ausi bien por le haunt e por la 15
saunté des chivaus com des homes.

L'apprise encontre sorvenue de bataille.

En cest chapitre aprent li auctors coment les compaignies
des legions serount apris si bataille sorviengne; ore seit de-
monstré par ensample de une legion, si com cours le doune, e ke
puisse valer as plusors ki sunt a chival e a pé. La premiere 20
eschele de gent a pé deit comencer de la premiere compaignie e
deit estre ordinee en la destre cornere; e la secounde com-
paignie serra ensemble joint a cele compaignie. La tierce
compaignie serra assise en l'eschele en milu; e a ceste serra

jointe la quarte compaignie. La quinte compaignie recevra la
senestre cornere. Mes devaunt les signes e entur les signes
les princes combatanz en la premiere eschele esteient avant ape-
lez, c'est a dire les ordinaires e les principaus. Ceste esteit
mout greve armeure, por ce k'il aveient heaumes e heoses de 5
fer, e escus e autre armeure, e granz espeies e autres mendres
29r. armes; e si aveient plomez cinc doble mis en lor / escu, ke il
giterent avant en le premer assaut; derichef doble darz, dount
il launceient un grant de fer as treis corneres de .ix. onces,
e un autre de .v. pez e demi k'il apelent pilet; ore est apelé 10
dart. E de ceo haunterent il de ferir nomeement chivalers. Il
useient de un autre meindre dart de fer de cinc unces pesant
o une haunte de treis pés e demi, ke ore est apelé verrute.
La premiere eschele des princes e la seconde o lances esteient
apris de tele manere de armeure. Avant ce esteient ferrenters, 15
gent de legier armeure, ki ore sunt apelez armez d'escuz, e de
maces plommez e de autre manere sunt garniz pres d'iloc touz
chivalers armez; il aveient ensement archers o heaumes, e o
arcs, e seetes, e espeies; il aveient ensement lengour, ki
giteient les peres o lenges. La seconde eschele esteit ensement 20
armee, en la quele esteient chivalers hardiz e bien apsis des
launces. Mes en la seconde eschele a la destre cornere esteit
la siste compaignie mis, a la quele la settisme esteit jointe.
Le utisme compaignie esteit mis en l'eschele en mileu, ne mie
29v. trop joinant. La / disme compaignie en la seconde eschele si 25
tient touz jors la senestre cornere.

Coment les compaignies serront armez.

En cest chapitre aprent li auctors coment les triaires
e les centeiners serront armez, après totes les escheles, ou
escuz e ou heaumes, e ou huses de fer e ou espeies, e o maces
ou duble ploms de ferir, e ceus se mettent a genoiles, ke si
la premere eschele seit vencue, de ceus ausi com de une entere 5
compainie serra la bataille reparillee com en victorie. E tuz
ki sunt a pé suirent li baneor e la banere, e prengent mendres
haubercs e heaumes, e se vestirent des pels de ours por es-
paunter lor enemis. Mes les centurions aveient escuz e heau-
mes de fer argenteez o crestes en travers, k'il feussent le 10
meuz coneu de plus loins.

Ceus ki esteront a estal serront fortement armez.

En cest chapitre aprent li auctors ke ceus ki esterront
a estal com mur, ke il seient armez en bataille de forte ar-
meure. E c'est a saver e a retenir: ki en chescune bataille
la premere eschele ou la seconde esteit tuz jors en pes a 15
estal e ne ¹⁾ moveit, e les autres reseoient. E les ferren-
30r. ters ²⁾ e les ar/chers e saillors e lengours ³⁾ e autres de le-
gere armeure alerent avant por eus avauncer si il porroient
enchacer lor enemis; e suoient après; e si il feussent des-
treint par lor enemis ou par force ou par multitude de gent 20

1) MS. ne ne

2) MS. f'errenters

3) MS. lengours^r

il retornoient a eus e puis esterent a estal. E ceus o la
forte armeure pristrent la bataille, e ausi com un mur de fer,
e combateient non pas seulement en treant ne en launsant, mes
al plus pres k'il poeient ou espeies. E si lor enemis tor-
nassent en fuite, ces ki furent si bien armez ne les siurent 5
pas, k'il ne destorbassent lor compaignie ne lor ordeinement;
mes ceus ki furent¹⁾ de legier armeure suerent lor enemis fu-
anz, ou archers e o lengeors a chivals. Par ceste ordeinement
e par ceste queintise la legion venquit e remist seine e ha-
legre; car dreit est de legions ne de legier fuir ne de leger 10
suire.

L'em deit saver les nouns des chivalers.

En cest chapitre aprent li auctors ke l'em deit saver
les nouns des chivalers en chescune eschele e le devis²⁾ de
lor escuz, ke les chivalers en grant multitude de bataille
30v. ne errassent folement de lor compaignies; e en divers / com- 15
paignies divers signes estoient depaint en lor escuz, ke il
apelent dignitez, si com ore est costoume de fere. Estre ce
en chescun escu de chescun chivaler esteit escrit son noun e
depaint ces armes de quele compaignie il estoit ou de quele
centaine. E puis ke si eurent fait, donc demorra la legion
bien establee ausi com une citee tres bien garnie, ke bien
porra porter oue lui totes choses necessaries en batailles,
ke ele ne eust doute de ost sorvenaunt sodeinement, e ke

1) furent: an i is added above the line after u.

2) Originally la devise; la altered to le and final -e effaced.

sodeinement en mi les champs feussent garniz des fossez e
des valeies a mettre ens totes maneres de armeure des chiva-
lers. E si ascune comune bataille desire sormonter estraunges,
par le ordeinement e par l'enseignement del empereor nient
vencu seient adrescez, e k'il voise avant devant toz autres 5
legions de tuz jovenes chivalers. Car de deuz ures espace de
tens les jovenes chivalers ententivement esluz e ki ount bien
haunté chescun jour les armes, ne mie soulement le matin mes
ensement le mirelevé par tote manere de art ou de discipline
de combatre des armes porront legierement estre piers as aun- 10
ciens chivalers ke ount hauntés totes terres e environez. /
31r. Ne lor move ce ke jadis feu aunciane costume echaunchable¹⁾,
ne nuist pas. Mes ceste porveiance de ceste boneureté est toz
jors estable, ke por le salu de comune chose que il pense
touz jorz noveles choses, e auncienes choses retieingne. Car 15
chescune chose est ennoieuse avaunt ke ele seit assaiee; si
les chivalers cointes e sages e bien hauntez des armes seient
avaunt mis, e eient les mains covenables en bataille e seit
ententif e ignel, mes k'il ne eient pas despenses soffisables.

Ke chivaler en ost sache aconter.

En cest chapitre aprent li auctors ke bien est mestier 20
ke home seit en ost ki bien sache l'art de acunter, e est a
eslire par institutions, mes ke il ne seit pas de graunt force

1) MS. enchaunchable: the first n is expunctuated.

de cors. Mes ke en legions seient plusors escheles en queus
chivalers lettrés¹⁾ serrount, ki les juvenes chivalers assai-
eront; kar en totes choses covent enquere de force²⁾ de cors e
de totes choses de corage e de hardiesse, mes ke il seit de
grant estature; mes en les uns si est notee grant savoir ~~com~~ de 5
counter ou de usage de acounter, e est esleu a cel office. Kar
la reison de chescune legion est ke chescun jour deit estre
31v. escrete e noumbree la / pecunie ke est despensee en chivalers
e en autres genz de autres offices; les chivalers de centenes
e des compaignies facent lor agait solom dreiture, ke nul ne 10
seit trop grevé, ne ke nul ne eit greinor fraunchise ke autre;
e les nouns seient mis en escrit si com il fount lor office.
E si ascun voile congé demaunder de aler, nul congé ne seit
doné si ne seit par droit encheison. Ne chivalers ki sunt es-
tabli a servises e a meaters ne facent nul estraunges servises 15
mes communes; car covenable chose ne serreit pas a chivaler
le empereor ki prent ces robes e ces souz de lesser les com-
munes servises e prendre sei a estraunges servises. Kar les
chivalers ki serveient jadis a princes e as haus seingnors
esteient apelez accens, c'est a dire subjez ke la legion³⁾ 20
fust complie, e ore sunt apelez sornombres. E neporquant les
chivalers de les legions porteient as herbergeries busche e
fein e ewe e estreim; e por ce esteient il apelez serjaunz,
por ce k'il firent servises.

1) lettrés: a further e is added above r.

2) After force, e is expunctuated.

3) legion: final -on added above the line.

L'em deit sequestrer chose donee la terce partie.

En cest chapitre aprent li auctors ke de chose ke est
32r. donee deit / la terce partie estre sequestree e baillee a
garder as baneors. E ceste costume feu jadis establi par l'em-
pereor, e illokes fust gardé des chivalers, ke par nule leche-
rie des veine choses ne par nule compaignie ne fust guastee. 5
Car plusors homes e nomeement povres en demaudent quant k'il
porront avoir. Par un sage home fu jadis ceste pecunie comaun-
dee de mettre a profit; car quant chescun sout sa comune sus-
taunce de soud de ce ke fu doné, si fu ajoité le chivaler. Ki
set ses despenses bailleez as baneours, il les guerpist e poi 10
en pense, amaust meus ke li mesmes gardast la sostance¹⁾ de
pecunie. Por ce esteient dis sacs mis par totes les compaign-
ies, en les queus ceste chose esteit mise. Le unzime sac
esteit ajoint, ou totes les compaignies avoient part, nomee-
ment a enterrer les cors, ke si ascun des compaignuns defausist 15
de son propre, k'il en preisent del unzime ke fui comun. E ce
gardoient en une cofre les baneors; e por ce les baneors es-
teient eslus non pas seulement loiaus homes, mes homes lettrez
32v. estoient esluz, ke bien la savoient / garder e reison rendre
a tuz de chose ke lor fust baillé en garde. 20

1) MS. sostenice(?)

Des avancemenz des legions.

En cest chapitre aprent li auctors ke les avauncemenz
deivent estre fetes en tuz legions; ke ces ki sunt avancé
deivent issi estre faites en tuz legions, ke ces ki sunt a-
vauncé passent par mi les compaignies. Non pas seulement par
humaine conseil mes par l'agard del empereor quid je ke¹⁾ les 5
legions sunt si establis de Romains; en les queus .x. com-
paynies sunt issi ordineez, ke de tuz ensemble seit un cors
e une conjunction. Car ausi com roundesse en commun jadis
tuz les chivalers par diverses compaignies e par diverses
escoles furent avancé, en teu manere ke si aucun seit avancé 10
de la premere compaignie a aucun degré voist a la disme com-
paignie; e derichef de cele creissanz ses souz o greignor
degré recourge a la premere. E por ce un grant seignor Pri-
mipilus Centurio, puis k'il aveit cerché tot en tot totes
les compaignies par diverses escoles, en la premere com- 15
paignie parvint il a victorie, ke de chescune legion de-
33r. servi il lowers / sanz nombre; si com Crinius Primer en le
office de provost parvint a honesté fin par travail de chi-
valerie e par provosterie. En teu manere les legioners a
chival honorent lor compaignies par grant effect de com- 20
paignie, com natureument ceus a chival soleient descorder
de ceus a pé. E por ce par ceste contestacion est gardé en
legions e en totes compaignies ke ceus a chival e ceus a pé
seient tuz a un acord.

1) quid je ke: expunctuated in the MS., a ki* being added
above quid.

Les differences des estrumenz.

En cest chapitre aprent li auctors quele difference
i a entre estives, busines, e corns, e tabours; c'est a sa-
ver ke chescune legion a bosignors e cornours e taborors¹⁾.
Le taboror somont primes les chivalers²⁾ a bataille, e puis
au retorner chaunte; les corneors cornent quant les baneors 5
isteront en bataille; e quant bataille deit estre, donc so-
nent l'un e l'autre. E quant la busigne corne, c'est signe
del empereor, kar busoigne ne sonera point si l'empereor
ne seit enpresent; ou quant l'em coure sor aucun chivaler
chevotain, douce sone la busyne, ou a grant ovre a faire en 10
champ, e quant il cessent de combatre si ressonent; car ce
33v.covent ke / seit fait par les leys del empereor. E quant
les baners movent e sunt fichiz, donc sounent les corns.
Car en tuz ost³⁾ e avant alees est comandé a garder ke les
chivalers se realient ensemble en bataille, por saver mon 15
le quel les plus hauz le voudront comander, a ester a estal
ou a combatre, ou por suire ou por retorner. Car la reison
est toz jors aperte e clere, ke en udif deit estre fait ce
ke covendra a force estre fait en bataille.

1) MS. taborous

2) MS. le chivaler: a final -s is added above the line at
the end of each word.

3) MS. oz: -z is expunctuated and -st added above.

Le haunt des jofnes chivalers.

En cest chapitre aprent li auctors les juvenes chivalers de lor haunt. Repeirom nous al haunt des armes des chivalers par ordeinement de la legion, car si com avant est dit, de haunt si vint cest noun ost. Car les juvenes e les noveus chivalers hauntoient deus fez le jour al matin e a mirelevé 5
a tote maneres des armes. E les aunciens chivalers bien pris ne haunteient lor¹⁾ armes ke une fez le jour. Car long age ne²⁾ grant noumbre de auns ne fet pas le chivaler saver l'art de combatre, mes puis ke si le volez, les granz lowers; car li jovene chivaler nient haunté des armes, por les granz / 10
34r.souz ke il prent, est touz jorz armé de s'armeure, e jour festival e autre; e por ce il n'apristrent pas tant soulement de lor mestre chescun jour de penser de lor armeure, mes par usage e par legerté de lor cors apristrent il de combatre e d'assaillir de pres lor enemis e de sei defendre de coup d'es- 15
peie. C'est ore la greinoure chose ke seit ke de touz jorz regarder la banere por lor enemis quant il se sunt entre-medlé en compaignie, ne ke nul error ne seit entre les sages, ke tant de confusioun ne seit de multitudine. Por ce est mout grant profit de haunter as pels ou a estaches o la launce; e 20
ke il aprennent a requere ou pé ou chef poignanment ou trenchaunment. E bon est ke il s'acostument a saillir lor enemis de espeie en saillant e en poignant e par grant coup doner,

1) MS. ler

2) ne: initial n is partially effaced.

e ausi com s'il le vousist asaillir enterement en mi le visage. E
ensemblement il deivent assaier de ferir de loinz les pels ou darz, e
ou cestes e ou grant force de art ou de vertu. Car les archers e
les lengeours soleient jadis mettre un fusselet d'estreim ou un
autre signe, e puis se retreit bien .vi. cenx pés de loins del merc 5

34v. por saver moun si le porroient / ferir de seetes ou de peres, e so-
vent le tocherent. E por ce sanz dotaunce issi fesoient il en ches-
cune compaignie ke les luans em champ feussent chescun jour acos-
tumeement usez a ferir une fez le jour au mains le chef de cel signe
ne ou de pere e de lenge. Mes de la mein soulement toz les chiva- 10
lers pensoient de giter peres, e cel us vaut meus si com l'em dit,
por ce ke il n'i ad mester foundé. De autre part il soleient mut
haunter de launcher de autre manere de dars e de plomez, quant vint
al yver por neif e pluie e autres tempestes, e en teu manere esteit
le ost apri. Les autres jours de yver quant neif e pluie e autres 15
tempestes cesserent, donc furent il apri d'autre matire e d'autre
costume en champ, ke les chivalers ne se esmaiassent ne devenissent
feble de cors ne feint de corage. Il soleient couper les boys, por-
ter grant charges, sailler outre fossez, e aler un pas e courre du-
rement; e si covant ensemblement les genz armez faire a la fie, k'il ne 20
feussent veu nul jour sanz travail en bataille legerement. Le quel
se feussent legions ou compaignies ou aydes hauntaunt assiduelment
35r. tele manere de labour. / Car autaut cum le chivaler bien apri e
haunté d'armes desire bataille, autant le doute le¹⁾ nient sage e
le nient haunté. Au derein —>

1) le: added above the line for expunctuated de.

si est a savoyr ke plus vaut us en bataille ki ne fait force;
ke si¹⁾ la doctrine des armes cessast, nient plus ne vaudreit
un chivaler ke un paen.

Le art de chivalerie.

En cest chapitre traite li auctors e mostre par ensample
de autres ars quele est le haunt del art de chivalerie. Le 5
champion e le veneor e le chareter, por le grant lower ou
por aver favour de pople, chescun jour soleit penser de gar-
der ou de avoiter ses ars; ausi bon chivaler de ces meins
deit user e garder le art cest commune chose. Car plus en-
tentivement covient la science de combatre e us de chose hu- 10
maine estre gardee par forcibles haunz, a ki il avint non
seulement par gloriose victorie mes plus large preie; l'or-
dre de chivalerie feu acostumé par jugement del empereor es-
haucer. Ke a richesses ou as dignetez les autres menestreus
ne departent mie de lor haunt por loange del pople; le chi- 15
valer jovene ou viel ne deit pas cesser del haunt des armes,
35v. ke est / a combatre por sa propre sauvacion e por commune
fraunchise; ensement com aunciene sentence seit e cointe
sentence seit touz ars touz jors estre en penser.

1) si: added above the line.

Queus engins les legions porteront ouk eus.

En cest chapitre aprent li auctors queu manere de ferremenz e de engins les legions porteront ovek eus. La legion soleit vintre non pas soulement par nombre des chivalers mes ensement par la manere des ferremenz. Tout premerement de totes choses si aprent il de une manere de dars, ke nul haubercs ne nuls escuz ne porront soffrir. Car totes compaignies e totes centeines soleient aver carrobalistes, ke les mulz traioient, e a ce esteient .xi. homes assis a adrecer e a armer quant deveient trere. Car taunt com plus grant serrount, de taunt plus loins e plus forciblement gitterount les dars. Il ne defendent mie soulement les herbergeries, mes il sunt mis en champ après la compaignie de gref armeure; devaunt l'assaut des queus ne gent a chival haubergez ne gent a pé ou escuz ne porront ester. En une legion soleient estre .lv. carrobalistes 36r. e ensement / .x. onagres, ce est ke trestouz par tote les compaignies sunt portez armez; ke les herbergeries peussent estre deffendues, si lor enemis venissent par aventure a assailir le val, donkes defenderoient de seetes e des peres. Ensement totes les compaignies avoient e portoient un autre manere d'engin tout crues, e trelonges cordes, e a la fie de cheines de fer; e quant il esteient de ce bien covert, si com il dient, e tables sormises, tot surement porront passer les ewes sanz peril, ke gent a chival ne gent a pé ne porront waier sanz pont. Il ount ensement un autre manere de fer fait com un faus o trop lons crocs ensemble fichiz; derichef a faire ovre de

fossez ount il autres maneres de engins, com piçoise e pels
e rastels, e auges e cophins a terre porter. E si ount coniees
e serres, des queus les paliz sunt faites e dolez e fichiz e
fermez. Estre ce il deivent aver mestres enginours ou tote
manere de ferremens, ke quant il averont conquis ascune ci- 5
tez de lor enemis, k'il puissent refaire visnes e oster les
limaçonz e les mousches e autre ordure. E a verité dire sans
36v. plus especefier e nombrer, il dei/vent aver totes les choses
ke sunt creu. ke porront aver mester en chescune manere de
bataille e touz jourz porter oveke eus, ke en quel leu ke il 10
viengnent la ou herbergerie est fait k'il facent cité armee.

BOOK III

Ci comencent les chapitres del tiers livre.

Si comencent les chapitres del tiers livre:

Coment e en quele manere le ost deit estre governé seinement.

Par com grant cure les vitailles sunt a porveier¹⁾ ou forment.

Coment il covient ke l'em porveie ke les chivalers ne facent
traison.

5

Combien i eit de baners de chivalers de quantes maneres.

Com grant cautele est a garder quant l'un ost vient pres del
autre.

E coment les greinors ewe serront a passer²⁾.

Coment les herbergeries deivent estre ordinez.

10

Queus choses e quantes choses sunt a considerrr, c'est enten-
du le quel ou par sorvenanz ou par espies, ou si l'em
deive aler avant par commune bataille.

E quei covent faire si ascun eit ost ou jovene chivaler desusé
de la bataile.

15

Queus choses sunt a procurer le jour ke la comune bataille est
mise³⁾.

37r. Coment les chivalers ki / ⁴⁾ sunt a combatre se sentent.

Coment noble lu seit eslu a la bataille.

Coment la compaignie deit estre ordinee, ke ele ne seit vencue
par grant raison e sen.

20

1) porveier: the first r is added above the line.

2) MS. passez: -z is expunctuated and -r added above.

3) After mise, e si fait archer is expunctuated.

4) MS. ki / ki

Combien d'espace serra gardee ke serra entre tuz les homes
en long ou entre tuz les ordres en lé.

De ordiner la gent a chival.

Des aydes ke sunt mis après l'eschele.

En quel lu le premer prince serra; en quel lu le second;
en quel lu le terz.

5

Par queus remedies, ou de vertu ou de trecherie, l'em puet
contre ester la compaignie des enemis.

Par quantes maneres la bataille commune serra acompaigné,
e coment le plus bas par force ou par nombre puet a-
ver la mestrie.

10

De retrencher e doner voie a lor enemis, k'il seient des-
trut le plus legerement¹⁾, c'est a saver les fuianz.

Coment l'em departira del enemy si le conseil despleise a
la bataille.

15

Coment il porront estre allegez en compaignies des camayls
e de olifaunz, e de autre manere de bestes e de gent
a chival.

Quei seit a faire si une partie s'enfuit ou trestot l'ost.

Ces sunt generales ruelles de batailles.

20

1) MS. legererement

La manere de ost des jovenes chivalers.

37v. En cest chapitre aprent le auctors de quele ma/nere le
ost deit estre. Le premer livre de art des jovenes chivalers
demostra lor haunt; le second livre aprist la discipline de
chivalerie les establissemens de legions; icist tiers livre
aprent la manere de la marine. Car por ce les avaunt dites 5
choses sunt, ke ceus oue queus sovereign saver d'estrifs de
victoiries parmeint, k'il entendissent plus hastivement la
garde de discipline par ordre, e meus se aidassent. Ost si
est dit ausi bien de legions com de aides e ensement de gent
a chival e a pé grant multitude coillet ensemble a faire 10
bataille. Teu manere est demandé de mestres d'armes. Car com
Perse e Dayre e par norissement de autres reys, ke mout a-
moient pople sanz nombre, en lor ensample list om ke aperte-
ment apert trop plentivous ost plus estre destrut par lor
trop de multitude ke par vertu de lor enemis. Car par plu- 15
sors cas la greignor multitude default; en chemins toz jors
est plus tardif por sa pesantisme, ensement en longe compaign-
g^{ie}ie soleit om soffrir sorvenue de petiz; e en aspres¹⁾ lius
e en passage de ewes por la destorbaunce de la demore est
sovent la grenor multitude deceu; estre se par grant tra- 20
vail e par grant nombre des / chivaus e des autres bestes.
Por defaute de vitaille e a genz e a bestes, ke grant des-
torbaunce est en chescun profit; e fait a eschuire e aver²⁾

1) aspres: the first s is added above the line.

2) aver: added above the line.

defaute de grein, bientost les greignors oz alassent. Car
quant la vitaille est aparilee par plus grant estudie, de
taunt faut il le plus tost s'il est doné a plusors. Car mei-
mes l'ewe soffist as peines a la fie a grant multitudine. E
par aventure s'il tornent le dos, il covient par force la 5
ou mouts i ad ke mouts cheent¹⁾; e ces ke fuiront, ausi com
espounteiz, e les autres plus se doterunt. Les aunciens, ki
bien aveient apris par esperimens les remedies de ceus de-
fautes, voleient meuz aver un poi de gent ben apris des ar-
mes en ost ke grant nombre. Car en plus legers batailles une 10
legion soffist o autres aydes mellez; ce est .x. mil homes a
pé e .ii. mil a chival; ce est creable chose de estre acez.
E sovent mistrent la mein a profit les provoz ausi com men-
dre ducs. Ke si grant plenté de lor enemis venissent, le po-
testat conseiller fu envoié, si com il fust le greinor seign- 15
~~gnor~~, ou .xx. mil gent a pé e .iiii. mil a chival. Ke si nom-
bre e multitudine sanz fin de felonesse gent recombattist,
38v. donc, par tresgrant necessité constreinant, .ii. ducs / e
.ii. esteient enveié del ost par teu comaundement: ke il
porveissent par comun conseil ke nule commune chose ne preist 20
rien d'empirement, les hauz homes un a un autre ou ambedeus.
E por ce quant il dussent aler en regions pres de chescun
an a combatre encontre divers enemis, por ce voleient il a-
ver grant plenté de chivalers; e por ce jugoient il de²⁾

1) MS. checent: -c- expunctuated.

2) de: expunctuated in the MS.

nient plus aver si granz ostz. Nequedent par icele reison est gardé ke jammeis plus n'i seit greignor multitudine de compaignies aidanz en herbergeries ke l'aunciene costume est de citeins de Rome.

Coment le ost deit estre gouverné e gardé.

En cest chapitre aprent li auctors coment le sanité del 5
ost seit gouverné e gardé, com en lius, en ewes, en tens, en
medicines, en haunt. En lius ke les chivalers ne demurgent en
perilous region jousté wasseus malengeus, ne en trop ardent
liu sanz ascun arbril des arbres, en champs ou en montaignes;
ne les chivalers ne seient pas saunz tentes en esté. E ke il 10
ne issent mie trop tard, ke il ne receivent maladie par
grant chalour de solail ou par grant travail de chemin, mes
39r. ke il viengent la ou il deivent venir avaunt le / chaut. E
ke il ne seient en yver en nul liu ou il eient defaute de
fuail; ne ke il lor faille robe a vestir. Ne ke l'ost ne 15
beive mie des ewes de paluz, car malveis ewe engendre venim¹⁾.
E ke les compaignons ke sunt malades usent de seins mangiers,
e ki il seient bien garris par mires; e nomeement les prin-
ces e les ducs e les contes, ki greinors baillies ount, car
malement porront gouverner ost en bataille ki malades sunt. 20
Mes les sages genz de chivalerie quidoient meus valer a saun-
té de chivalers ke haunt des armes chescun jour ke ne fesoient

1) MS. veniim

les mires. Car gent a pé soleient touz jorz en yver haunter des
armes souz covert, sanz entrelés¹⁾ de neif ou de pluie. E ensement
gen a chival apristrent le haunt des armes en yver chescun jour,
ne mie seulement en pleines mes ensement en tertres e en valeies,
par assiduel haunt de eus e de lor chivalers, ke nule chose ne 5
fust desconu a eus par nécessité de bataille. E puis, ke il est
entendu ke le ost toz jours aprenge²⁾ le haunt des armes e en
yver e en esté, e grant sanité est, e par tel assiduel us poet
39v. aver victoire. E si grant multitudine de ost demore trop / longe-
ment en tens de aust en nient sein liu, tost porra recevoir ma- 10
ladie; e ce ne puet estre defendu fors par mouvement des herber-
geries.

Coment l'em deit porveer vitaille.

En cest chapitre aprent li auctors par com grant cure les
vitailles sunt a porveier ou a garder e les formenz. Ordre de-
maunde del conduit de vitaille e de forment. Car soventefez a- 15
vient ke ost est plus toust confondu par meseise ke par bataille,
e feim est plus trenchaunt ke ne est fer. Au derein om deit bien
sovenir ke en totes aventures ke vitaille e estover n'ad point
de remedie en nécessité, si avaunt ne seit quise e estové⁴⁾. En
chescun avauncement le meillor conseil est e le plus sein ke gent 20
en ost eient soffisaumment lor vivre. E por ce devant ke la ba-

1) entrelés: a further e(?) is added above the line before final -s.

2) MS. a aprenge

3) e: expunctuated in the MS.

4) estové: a final -r is added above the line.

taille comence deit estre porveu coment l'em deit garnir les
herbergeries de vitaille e des formenz e de vins e de plusors
autres choses, con costume est, de gent del pais; e ke la vi-
taille seit assemblé en le plus bel liu, e en plus seur lu
seit, e en covenable lu seit estué. E si despenses faillent 5
e moneie, prenge l'en asez del or e achate l'en totes choses.
Kar nule possession de richesse n'est enseure, si ele ne /
40r. seit ben defendue d'armes. E si necessité sourd, sovent a-
vient ke plus longes durra le sege ke vus ne quidez, kant
les adversaires ki ount grant feim ne finent de asseoir iceus, 10
les queus il espeirent estre a veintre par famine. Estre ce
vostre enemé prendra ver lui quant ke il porra haper, e de
bestes e de blés e de vins, a sostenir la bataille encontre
vus. Por ce bon est de porveier¹⁾ nobles executors a les
chasteus de lor cors e de quant k'il ount; e dedeinz les 15
murs ceit muscé. E l'em deit prendre garde avant, ke les
murs des chasteus soient bien aparilez, e ke nule defaute
n'i eit de nule chose. Celi comence tart de esparnier, quant
il n'ad de quei. En les plus hanz avauncemens les provendes
esteient donez auncienement as chivalers par les chefs ke 20
par les dignetez, issi ke après necessité de commune chose
lor fust rendu en yver busche, en esté vitaille de forment
e de vin. En totes saisons mester est ke les chivalers gar-
nissent les chausteus de ceel e de totes maneres des armes

1) porveier: the first r is added above the line.

nomeement dount il se puissent defendre. E a porveer¹⁾ est ke le
pais ke est simple e nient cointe seit deceu par fraude e par
40v. serement des ad/versaries. Car soventefez forme de pes e fein-
tes promesses unt plus de mal fait a gent creable ke ne ount
armes. Por la quele reison les ensemble coilliz soffrent²⁾ 5
feim, e les enemis desparpilez ne sunt pas legerement vencuz
par sorvenanz sovenerement.

Ke les chivalers ne facent traison en bataille.

En cest chapitre aprent li auctors coment l'em deit
estre porveu ke les chivalers ne facent treisun; les chiva-
lers nomeement ki ount vesqui udivement e delicieusement en 10
seges, endementers ke la grant coillette del ost muet noise
de divers lius; e quant le chivaler ne veut combatre, il se
feint coroucé, por ce ke il ne est avaunt mené a la bataille.
Ke par auspresse de nent costumé travail e corouce, bosoigne
est ke il se sostienne en espleit; por ce ceus ki doutent 15
bataille e ki gerpissent le haunt des armes, il sunt tres-
buchés en teu manere de hardiesce. A quele plaie soleit estre
mise mult de manere de medicine. Ke endementers ke il sunt
reparaillez onkore e en les seges des baillies e de lor vi-
caires, ne³⁾ en autres⁴⁾ granz princes, ke il seient tenu a 20
tote maneres de discipline par trop estreit cruelté, e ke il

1) est: expunctuated in the MS.

2) The MS has clearly foffrent.

3) ne: added above the line.

4) After autres, a is expunctuated.

41r. ne gardent nul autre chose for moderaci/on e devocion e cours
del champ, si com il l'apelent, e ke il facent assiduelement
regard de lor armes. E ke il ne doignent entente a nul con-
veors. E ke il ne lessent pas de regarder a lor non e a lor
signes. E ke il assaient sovent de launcher seetes e darz, e 5
de giter peres des meins e des fundes; e ke il assaient as
pels poignanment e trenchaunment, e de ferir soventefez a
grant travail, ausi com il freient de espeies. E ke il sei-
ent destreint de aprendre de courre e de sailler outre fos-
sez. E bien sunt a aprendre a noer en ewes e en flumes e en 10
mer, quant est pres del sege en esté tens. E ke il ne seient
pas udif, ke il ne coupent busche, ou ovrent en fossez, ou de
doler ascune matire; ou ke il seit occupez en autre lu. E ke
nul compaignon ne seit hai de autre, issi ke il entre en-
contrent de lor escuz. E quant les chivalers serront si a- 15
pris e si hauntez en seges, ou les legions, ou ces a chival,
ou les aides, serront ensembles ensemble de divers nombres a
espleit, il averont greignor talent de desirer bataille ke
udivesce par lur¹⁾ vertu; nul ki s'afie en sa force e ki set
de art des armes ne pense point de la noise. Car dustre deit 20
estre apaié en tuz legions e en touz aydes e de tous baillifs,
41v. e de touz vi/caires e de touz banerez e de touz princes. E si
aucuns chivalers seient destorbanz ou traitres por envie de

1) lur: added above semblance de, which is expunctuated
in the MS.

nule chose, ces ki les conoissent por teus les facent departir
des herbergeries par¹⁾ plus cointe conseil ke om poet; e ke
il seient mis a fere aucune chose ke lor seit avis plus pro-
fitable, a garnir ou a garder chasteus ou citez, par si grant
sotileté seient remuez ke il quident e ke il seient eslu²⁾ 5
por bonté. Car jamés multitudine ne vendra a contumer³⁾ par
owel consentement, mes il est commu de pois ke par inpunité
de vices ou des felonies espeirent peccher ou plusors. Ke si
la dereine necessité les amoneste de fere medicine, plus est
dreit de chalanger la mort des greignors en les auctors des 10
blames, ke la peine parviengne a pois, e⁴⁾ a touz pour⁵⁾.
Car plus lowables sunt les juges, les queus haunt e us e
travail ad establi atempraunce, ke iceus chivalers, les
queus doute destreint a obedience de tormenz.

Les signes des chivalers.

En cest chapitre aprent li auctors quantes maneres sunt 15
les signes des chivalers. Car moutes choses sunt a dire e a
42r. garder as combatanz, car nul par/don n'i ad de peresce la
ou l'em estrive de sauté. Mes entre autres choses nule

-
- 1) par: final -r added above.
 - 2) eslu: the s is added above.
 - 3) MS. defautez* is added above contumer.
 - 4) e: added above the line.
 - 5) MS. poours: final -s expunctuated.

chose ne profite tant a victoire com sei atemperer a les amonestemens des signes. Car com la multitude des choses ne puisse pas estre entre noises des batailles par soule voiz, e com por necessité des choses plusor choses sunt a comander e a fere solonc tens, le auncian usage de touz genz trova 5 ke ce ke le dustre soul jugast de estre profitable chose ke tot le ost le conustreit par signes e le suireit. Treis maneres de signes sunt: voueus, e demi-voueus, e mates; des queus voueus e demi-voueus sunt aparceu par les orailles, e les mates partienent a les oilz. Ces sunt apelé voueus ke 10 sunt pronunciez par humaine voiz, si com en veilles en bataille por signe est dit si cum: "Victoire!", "Paume!", "Vertu!", "Deu seit ou vous!", "La victorie del empereor!", e quele chose ke il voderá doner a ceus ki ount tresgrant poesté en ost. E c'est a saver ke ces paroles deivent estre 15 chaungé chescun jour, ke les enemis ne conoissent pas uselement les signes, e ke les espeies ne seient tornez entre 42v. les noz sanz peine. Les semi-voeus sunt / ke sunt donez par busine ou par corn ou par trompe; busine si est apelé ce ki sune par sei meimes par avirounement del eir quant il est 20 fiché; corn si est ce ke done grant soun par grant force de alaine de home e par sofflement de esprit, e ke de loins est oi. Car par cel son puet om conustre quant il deit ester en peis, ou aler avant, ou retorner, ou le quel l'em deive suir les fuianz ou non. Mut de maneres de signes sunt: 25 egles, dragonz, baners, e autres plusors. Queu part ke le

dustre comaundera aler, la adrescera l'em le signe, e tote la
compaignie des chivalers irront la endreit. Il i ad¹⁾ mout de
autre maneres de signes, com de draz, ou en chival ou en ar-
mes, ke le dustre de la bataille porra comaunder a porter e
a garder, ke lor enemy ne les conoisse; ou par la main porra 5
le dustre del ost fere aucun signe si com l'em soleit aun-
cienement faire. Queus totes choses chivalers e tuz ces del
ost deivent conoistre, e toz ke sunt au sege, e entendre.
Car c'est un us continuel e covenable a garder en consente-
ment de celi en ki²⁾ est la³⁾ bataille. Derichef comun signe 10
e entrechaunjabable est, quant la compaignie del ost se muet
43r. de aler a/vant, donc leve suz poudre a la manere de nues, e
ce demostre la venue⁴⁾ des enemis. Ensement si il i eit
grant plenté de gent, e seient departiz, ce puet l'autre
partie savoir de jour par fumee e de nuit par flambe ou par 15
feu, e autrement nient. E a la fez en chasteus e en les citez
sor les tours pendent trefs, ke signefient queu chose l'em
eit fait quant il sunt adrescez ou quant il sunt ostenz.

1) MS. il i a is expunctuated and il i ad added above mout.

2) After ki, pes is expunctuated.

3) After est, de is expunctuated and la added above.

4) MS. la venement: -ment is expunctuated and u added above -ne.

Coment le ost deit mover.

En cest chapitre aprent li auctors par com grant cointise le ost deit mover, quant lor enemis sunt mut pres. Car ces ki ententivement apristrent la chose e le art de chivalerie, il quiderent ke plusors perils soleient avenir en cheminant ke en la compaignie meimes. Car touz sunt armez en bataille quant il veient lor enemis de loins, e kant il viennent aparilez de combatre coragousement; le chivaler est meins¹⁾ armé en cheminant, e meins atendant, e si est destorbé so-
deinement par sorvenue de assaut ou de traison, ou de autre case ke avient. E por ce le dustre se deit porveier par ententive cure ke cil ki vait avaunt ne soffre mal en cours,
43v. ou / ke de leger u²⁾ sanz damage debote³⁾ en l'é. Premerement les cheminanz en tuz regions la ou bataille esteit pleinement deit aver escrit; en teu manere ke il sache les lus, e combien entre cel lu e cel lu; non pas seulement le nombre
15 des pas ne de lues, mes ensement deit il aprendre les qualitez des veies, e quant bon est a torner hors de la veie; e ensement les montaignes e les ewes deit il considerer⁴⁾ e aver fiance, deskes ce ke plus cointe dustres e ki meuz sachent les chemins del pais, en quel necessité grant con-
20 nissance seit noté⁵⁾, e ke escrit les eit non pas seulement

1) MS. meinses: final -es expunctuated.

2) MS. ue: the e is expunctuated.

3) MS. deboute: the u is expunctuated.

4) MS. esgarder* is written above considerer.

5) connessance*: written above noté.

en son penser ne en son conseil, mes ensement ke il voie al
oïl la voie ke il ad eslu de aler. E ce deit il enquire des
plus cointes e des plus honorables, e ke il seit sage des
lius, severaument deit totes choses enquire, e la verité en-
semble coillir des plusors choses. Estre ce les dustres des 5
chemins e de voies sunt a eslire de sage gent e nobles por
grant peril, e ki bien sachent aparceivre e conoistre ceus
ki garderont le pas e les chemins, e acez promettre lor de
44r.beaus dons por lor /¹⁾ travail e por lor peine. Car donc
serront il ententifs e profitables de bien garder ke nul ne 10
fuie, ne ke il ne eient leisir de fraude faire, tant ameront
les dons e doteront les tormenz aparaillez. E a porveier est
ke sages hauntauns seient quis, ke error de deus ou de treis
engendre grant descord a tote la compaignie; car meinte fez
la fole gent champestre promettent e creient de saver tele 15
chose ke il ne sevent pas. Mes cautele si est chef, ke le
ost ne sache a quel lu ne en quel chemin il deivent aler;
car c'est trop seure chose en espleiz ke om ne sache quei
seit a faire. Por ce les aunciens aveient en legions un signe
~~ne~~ ke il apeloient Minotauri, e si com cele beste fu toz 20
jours mucé en le plus secré lu e plus parfond ke l'em peust,
autresi le conseil de le dustre deit estre touz jours celé.
Tel chemin est mout seur a aler, la ou son enemy ne sosche
point ke il seit a aler. Mes por ce ke les espies ki sunt

1) MS. lor / lor

enveié del autre part enquerent touz jors lor prou par sos-
pecions e par lor oilz¹⁾, e endementers les traitres ki vo-
lent fuir ki jameis ne defaillent en ost font al autre partie
44v. entendre coment il les deivent encon/trer; por ce le dустre
ke deit aler avant ou la compaignie del ost il deit enveier 5
devant trop leale gent e gent bien apris e bien esprové e
bons chivalers eleu²⁾, ke garderont bien le liu ou l'ost deit
aler, e le deivent environer devaunt e en costé, e a destre
e al senestre, ke lor adversaries ne lor facent nul agait.
Car les espeies overent³⁾ meuz e plus de nuiz ke de jors. 10
Car en aucune manere sunt il a la fie lor traitres demeine⁴⁾.
Premerement deivent les chivalers aler avaunt en batailles,
e puis après gent a pé, e les archers e ces ki lancent les
darz serront mis en miliu, issi ke une bone partie de gent a
chival e a pé les sue. Car as alans vient a la fie par sor- 15
venanz ou devant ou derere. Mes a costé les destorbances
sunt a fermer par owele main des armez; car ceus ke gaitent
en aucun leu vont sovent le travers, e deboutent e encour-
sent⁵⁾. Une chose est nomeement a garder: ke cele partie ke
l'em creit ke lor enemí vienge premerement, eslite gent a 20
chival e archer e autre gent a pé de leger armeure seit al
encontre e seient bien garni. E si lor enemis le eient

1) After oilz, aparcevrement is added above the line.

2) MS. esleu: the s is expunctuated.

3) MS. ovrent: the e is added above the line.

4) demeiné: written above traitres.

5) MS. encounsant(?): an r is written above the second n.

45r. enviroinez de tote pars, il deivent aver lor aydes / aparilez
de totes pars. Por ce avant ke les chivalers se movent seient
bien aparilez ke il eient lor armes en lor meins, ke sodeine
noise ne lor nuisse plus en sobite necessité ke espante¹⁾;

choses porveues ne soleient pas aucienes doutes estre. Por
ce il gardoient devaunt ententivement ke les chivalers ne
fussent destorbez quant combatoient de archer ou de autre
manere de cri ou de autres maneres destorbaunces; ke quant
il feussent loins esparpilez ou plus pres assemblez, il de-
torbereient lor gent demeine e aidereient lor enemis. E por
ce al ensample des chivalers e ensement porvirent il a or-
diner destorbaunces souz unes signes; ke unes genz ke avoi-
ent une manere des armes en lor chef par signe elistrent ki
furent sages e covenables, ki vendroient e aideroient ou .ii.
cenz enfauns, archierz e nient plus. E a ceus donerent il
signes, ke il seusent bien as queus signes il deveient coil-
lir ensemble lor impedimens. Mes les combatauns sunt depar-
tiz par aucun laschement des impedimenz, ke ceus ki furent
estreint furent blessez en bataille. Quant le ost ala avaunt,

45v. ke quant variacion de lius vendroit, en tele ma/nere reison
de defense fust varié²⁾. Car en plein champ soleyent gent a
chival meuz combatre ke gent a pé; e en autre lu com en bois
ou en montaisnes ou en plasseis ou en valeies ou en paluz,

1) espante: o(?) is written above the a.

2) After varié, changé* is written above the line.

soleient meuz gent a pé combatre ke gent a chival. Mes une chose fait a escheure, ke par negligence des uns ke se has- tent e des autres ke trop se tardent seit la compaignie da- magee ou attenué¹⁾; car continuelement les enemis entremellés eschapent. Por ce les tresbien usez e hauntez mestres del 5 champ e les princes e les vicaries ke sunt plus egres e les plus pereçous movanz seient destreint de haster premere- ment. Car ceus ke serront devant, si sorvenue vient il ne serrunt pas si prest de repeirer com il serront de fuer. E ces ke sunt les desrains, quant il sunt deguerpis de lor 10 compaignons par²⁾ poer de lor enemis³⁾, sunt soventes fez vencu par propre desesperance. C'est a saver ke les adversaires mettent aguais⁴⁾, si il sunt sages, en les lius la ou il en- tendent ke il lur seient covenables, ou les assaillent par bataille apertement. Mes ke privez choses ne nuissent as 15 dustres meuz vaut ke par cointise covient avant espier totes 46r.choses; e quant il unt aparceu les / agueis, e ke l'em puet profitablement veintre, plus de peril est ke se apareiller de soffrir. Aperte force est ke il apareillent lor luis plus haut en montaines, ke lor enemis seient plus bas, car ces ki sunt 20 plus haut veintront de plus leger; ne il ne les oseront pas encontrer, quant il verront les gens armez devant lor front e

1) MS. menute^{*} is written above attenué.

2) MS. compaig poer: -nons par is added above the line.

3) enemis: final -s added above the line.

4) MS. aguais T

desus lor chefs. Ke si les veies seient estreites, e neporquant
seures, meuz lor vaut de trencher les ou coigneez e a doleires
e ke les chivalers travaillent a overir les voies, ke en trop
bon chemin de soffrir¹⁾ peril. Estre ce nous devom conoistre
la costume des enemis, le quel il furent acostumez de venir de 5
nuiz ou de jours ou a hure de manger, e ce devom nus eschuire
ce ke nus quidom ke il voillent faire par costume. Ensement
fait a saver le quel il valent meuz a chivals ou a pés, ou si
il vaillent plus ou archers ou arblasters, ou si il ount plus
de gent armé ke il n'en ont; tout covient saver e ordeiner 10
donkes si com l'em quide ke bien seit a eus e mal a lor ad-
versaries. Traiter nous covent combien de chemin l'em poet aler
46v. de noit e de jour, e combien i ad / entre les lius la ou nous
quidom venir, ke defaute de ewe en esté vienge as alauns, ne ke
en yver seit destorbé par cretine de ewe ou de neif, e de paluz 15
ou de autre destorbaunce; e quant il averount erré lor chemin,
ke le ost seit assemblé avaunt ke il viengent la²⁾ ou lor est
destiné. Si com nostre profit est de sagement teus choses es-
chuire, ensement si la folie des adversaires ou la dissimulacion
nous avera doné encheison, il ne covient pas estre lessé, mes 20
espier curiosement les traitres e somondre les ecchapez, ke nous
puissom conoistre en le tens ke est ~~ore~~ ou en le tens ke est a
venir quele chose le adversaire pense, e deceivre, avant ke om se
doune garde par pour, ceus ki sunt aparilez a chival, ou alanz ke
querent³⁾ vitaille e garnison a chival ou a leger armeure. 25

1) MS. soffir

2) MS. lo

3) querent: final -nt added above the line.

Coment l'em deit passer granz ewes.

En cest chapitre aprent li auctors coment l'em deit passer les granz ewes. Car grant peril avent sovent a negligenz avaunt ke il eient passez les ewes. Car si le ewe seit plus felon a passer ou le gué plus lé, granz destorbementz soleient
47r. avenir as plus jovenes e a la fie as plus coin/tes. Por ce 5
les combatanz quant il averunt espié le gué, dous compaignies de bone gent a chivals, les meillors beistes ke seient trové, de esclites serront ordinez de garder l'entreval severaument, ke gent a pé puissent passer par mi eus sanz destorbance. Car compaignie plus souveraine depesce l'asaut¹⁾ 10
des ewes, e ceus ki sunt bas coillent e ordeinent ces ki sunt raviz e versez. E quant le flot serra plus haut e court de plain e owelement, il ne lest home a chival ne a pé passer, mes si le flot seit espars e demené par fossez en divers lius om passe plus legerement. E a la fie covient nager outre les 15
ewes ou avirons sormis, ou ou petiz tables ke sunt fait, ou de autre manere de mein ovre por mettre trefs por passer, e assemble, e ajoster plusors autres choses por meuz passer. E gent a chival por meuz espleiter soleient faire autres engins por passer les ewes en nagent e trere lor compainons après 20
eus. Ou ces engins uncore soleient il faire autres engins por passer les ewes, ke il appelerent monoxilles, e ces portaient
47v. il touz jors ovek eus; e fusts e trefs de leger car/penterie, dont il apariloient bien touz ponz a passer sanz demore. E por

1) MS. assaut: the first s is expunctuated.

ces bosoignes covient ke gent armez seient de ambe pars del
ewe en ayde, ke il ne seient assailli de lor enemis quant tel
flot vent. Neporquant greignor cointise est de fichir peus e
trefs de chescune part sanz empirement, ke si aventure avient,
ke pont ne i seit mie a passer, ke il le puissent faire al re- 5
torner, e si les fossez seient plus larges ke il eient con-
duit; e quant ce averont parfait ke il eient chivalers de-
fensables por eus defendre si longement com mester est e com
le liu le demaunde.

Les ordeinemens de herbergeries.

En cest chapitre aprent li auctors coment les herberge- 10
ries deivent estre ordinez, en queus l'em deit maindre. Car¹⁾
ne l'em trove pas touz jors mansions en tens de bataille ne
citez murez por maindre enz. Car ce n'est pas cointe chose
ne seine chose ke le ost seit sanz herbergerie quant il dei-
vent manger ou dormir, por granz perils ke aveinent de gent 15
e de chivals. Por ce deit om eslire quant l'em fet les her-
bergeries les meillors lius e les plus profitables ke nul
plus profitable ne seit en aventure si lor adversaire sorvient.
L'em deit bien prover, quant l'em fait lor²⁾ herbergeries en
48r. esté tens, ke il n'i eit defaute / de ewe, e ke le lu seit 20
sein e ke vitaille ne faille ne en yver ne en esté, e ke

1) Car: final -r added above.

2) MS. ler

plenté de busche i seit, e ke le champ la ou les herbergeries
serront ne seit pas acostumé de estre enfondré de cretine, e
ke il n'i eit nule montaigne pres, ne tertre, ne autre des-
torbance, ke lor adversaires les puissent grever par lancer
ou par trere. E por ce covient ke herbergeries seient si¹⁾
com lu deporté ou quarrez ou rounz ou de treis corners ou
beslongs, si com meuz ert seaunt. Car ce est la plus grant
beauté ke seit quant la terce partie de la longure a meins
est ajosté outre l'espace de la laor. En teu manere des me-
surors del champ covient par mesure coiller la quantité del
ost as herbergeries. Car les combatanz estreinent estreis
lius, e plus ke mester est se espandent en lé. En treis ma-
neres dient nos mestres ke les herbergeries porront estre
garniz: Premerement en une nuit²⁾ passer e en occupation de
estocs, plus legerement quant le chemin serra veudé des
stocs, e si front une fossé sor le quel les trefs e les pels
par ordre serront adrescez. Les estocs serront arachez des
ferremenz, ki contient la tere par la racine des herbes, e
puis serra fet un paliz de pé e demi long e de un pé de /
48v. haut. Ke si la terre seit plus decorante, ausi com a costé,
ke les estoks puissent estre trenched, e donc serra fait une
grantdisme fossee hastivement par grant overaine, e serra de
.v. pés de lé e treis pés de haut, ke la haie cresse dedens,
ke le ost pousse reposer seurement sanz pour. E issi deivent

1) si: expunctuated in the MS.

2) nuit: a final -e is only partly effaced.

les herbergeries estre¹⁾ fermez e aforcez, e en esté e en iver,
par grant travail e grant cure quant lor enemy est pres lor
veisin. Car touz les centeines e totes les compaignies e les
princes e les granz mestres del champ departiront la gent a
chival e a pé, e les ordeineront; e ke il eient lor armes touz 5
jors prest, e escuz e signes, e si irront tuit ensemble envi-
ron, e overent le fossé e le front lé de .viii. ou de .xi. pés;
e si il doutent ke lor adversaire eit plus de force, donc la
deivent overir de .xvii. pés; car costume esteit ja de garder
nombre de nonper. E quant il averont mis les arbres e branches, 10
ke la terre ne decourge de leger, donc ert adrescé une haye,
sor le quel il leveront bretasches ou tours e les ordeineront
a la manere de un mur. Le gardain des overors deit ben mesurer
49r. .x. pés ke ascun ne mesprenge bas de fuir²⁾/ plus parfond, e
si deivent les gardeins mut bien garder ke nul s'en departe 15
dreske totes choses seient bien e noblement parfaites. E ke
les overours eient bone garde des sorvenaunz tant com il tra-
vailleront; touz ceus ke sunt a chival, e partie de ceus ki
sunt a pé ki ne ovrent pas por dignité ke il ount, deivent
estre touz jors armez devaun le fossé, e deboterunt lor ene- 20
mis ki sunt engrés. Les premiers signes serront mis en lor lius
dedens les herbergeries, por ce ke nule chose n'est plus pro-
fitable ne plus honorable chose ke de mettre les chivalers e
les princes e les plus hauz bailliz en tabernacles dedenz les

1) MS. est

2) An o is written above the u in fuir.

herbergeries, par les queus ert deliveré a totes les compaign-
n-ies vitaille, e a totes les aides e a gent a chival e a gent
a pé, com pain e vin, e busche e ewe, e autres choses ke mes-
ter lor est. E donc après ert demostré a chescun solonc le
degré ke il est ou il deit fichir son pavilon, e des totes 5
les centeines quatre a chival e quatre a pé guaiteront de
nuiz. E por ce ke ce ne fu¹⁾ pas bone chose ne covenable ke
touz gaitassent, por ce sunt devisé les guaites en quatre
parties, e ke il ne veillent ke treis heures de la nuit en
49v. treis parties: primes / quant le cornur cornera dreke le trom- 10
por vienge, e puis de celi guaiteront dreskes il oieront le
corn. E si deivent eslire vaillante gent e bien sage gent ki
irront entour les gaites, as queus il deivent noncier quel
manere de peril ke avienge; e ces sunt apelez environours, e
ore sunt il touz chivalers. C'est a saver ke gent a chival 15
deivent faire les weilles de nuit dehors le val, e de jour
deivent il estre dedenz les herbergeries. Les uns front lor
servises le matin, les autres a mirelevé, por lasseté des ho-
mes e des chivals. Entre ces choses nomeement deit li dustre
porveier, en herbergeries ou en citez quel ki seit, ke ceus 20
ki irront quere vitaille eient seur conduit por lor enemis,
e ke il eient quant ke mester lor est. Car autrement ne puet
la vitaille venir, si ce ne seit par noble lius e par sauf
conduit, a garnir les chastels ou les herbergeries. E si aun-
ciene garnison ne seit trové en covenables lius entour chastel 25

1) MS. fui: final -i is expunctuated.

ou herbergeries, donc les deit om garnir de greinors fossez
e de plus larges. Car de herbergeries pristrent les chasteus
lor nuns. En les queus gent a chival e gent a pé a la fez
manoiert por doner sauf conduit e sur¹⁾ as alans e as ve-
50r. nanz. / Car legerement n'ose nul enemî venir a cel liu la 5
ou il savera ke ces adversaries serront e demoront devant
ou derere.

La consideracion des batailles e l'art.

En cest chapitre aprent li auctors queus choses e quan-
tes choses sunt a considerer,²⁾ c'est a entendre le quel la
bataille serra fait comunement ou par sorvenue, si ascuns 10
dedeine de eslire ices comentaires del art de batailles
abregez par tresnobles auctors, e ki primes vodra oir les
comandemens e la reyson de bataille ke est a combatre. Mes
comune bataille est finie par estrif en .ii. hores ou en
.iii., puis ke la une partie est vencue e est cruele espe- 15
rance a ke l'autre partie cherra. Por ce sunt totes choses
a penser ein ke om les face e eins ke il viengent sodeine-
ment. Les bons dustres e les bons mestres ne firent pas com-
munement e apertement les batailles la ou grant peril pust
sourdre, mes priveement e sodeinement, e asseient coment il 20
puissent plus enterement grever lor enemîs e destruire e
espaunter. En ascune partie descriverai je queus choses

1) After sur, chemin* is added above the line.

2) MS. garder* is written above considerer.

sunt trovez necessaries a monester, si com dient les aunciens.

50v. La plus covenable art e la plus pro/fitable est de assembler
touz les plus sages e les plus vaillanz de tot le ost. E ke il
enquerge li quel eit plus de gent, ou li ou son enem; e ke il
sache le nombre del une partie e del autre, e les queus sevent 5
meuz combatre, e les queus sunt armez meuz ou sa gent ou la
gent sun adversaire, e les queus sunt meuz garnis e meuz han-
tés des armes, e queus sunt plus forz en bosoingne. E ensement
fait a enquere les queus vailent meuz, gen a chival ou a pé,
de force ou de traire ou de lancer, e le quel eit plus de hau- 10
berks, e le quel ad plus des chivals, e quel les ad meillors.
Au derein est a enquere les queus de lius ou l'em deit com-
batre seient plus profitables a eus ou a lor enemis; car si
nous avom bone gent a chival, donc devom eslire le champ, e si
nos gent a pé vaillent meuz, donc devom nus eslire liu estreit 15
com bois ou fossez ou paluz, ou eit destorbance des arbres e a
la fie montaignes. E tuz jors est bon estre en liu la ou avera
plenté de vitaille; car feim combatre dedenz le home e veint le
home plus toust ke fait fer. E une chose deit om nomeement en-
quere le quel vaut meuz, porloigner la bataille ou hastivement 20
51r. combatre; car endementers ke om delaie / la bataille, si espeire
touz jors le adversaire de fere son prou par le deslai; ou il
quide par meseise estre desconfit ou par desir des soens estre
acordé, ou si il ne fait nul grant chose, ke il seit par des-
perance destreint de aler s'en. E puis quant il serront tra- 25
vaillez e enuez, les uns s'en irront, les autres demorront, e

ascuns se targeront; car il quideront ke lor adversaire ki vint
 si plentivus s'en voist poveres¹⁾. E si partient a savoir li
 quel son adversarie ou lor mestres ou lor compaignons seient
 combatans ou noun, ou si il seient fous ou sages ou cointes ou
 hardiz ou orgeilloz ou bien apris de bataille, ou si il sachent 5
 combatre par us ou autrement; e si deit enquere si lor gent
 sunt fors ou pereçous, e queus les aides sunt e de quele fei,
 e de quele force e de quele hardiesce; e quele partie quide
 meuz aver la victorie; car par iteus pensees vertu est a la
 fie avoitee ou amenusee. Car hardiesce crest as desperauns par 10
 la monestement del dustre e, ke il ne seient pourous, dunc de-
 vient corajous e hardi cil ki avaunt fu poureus²⁾, si vus fa-
 cez ou force aucune chose³⁾; e si devez enquere si nul con-
 trarieté avient as vos adversairies, ou si vous poez veintre
 51v. vos enemis por ce ke/ il sunt malades e meins armez ke vos 15
 gent ne sunt. E sor tote rien vous gardez ke vus ne amenez
 pas a comune bataille nule gent ke doutent ou ont pour del ost.
 Ensement devez enquere le quel ke vous eiez, jovenes chivalers
 o veus e aunciens, ou si il i eit gerres ke il se essaierent
 d'armes, ou si il ount granz auns durez e ce sunt sojornez; 20
 car les jovenes chivalers sunt a aprendre ke ount lassé par
 grant tens de combatre. Mes quant les legions e les aides vend-
 ront de divers lus, e a chival e a pé, le tresnoble dustre les

1) poveres: the first e is added above the line.

2) MS. porecous: -co- is expunctuated and u added above -or-.

3) si vus facez ou force aucune chose is expunctuated in the MS.

deit faire assaier e haunter par tote les compaignies ke l'em
savera plus nobles par totes manere des armes; e puis si fra
mettre une compaignie de ceus tot prest com a combatre com par
commune bataille, e sovent les assaiera, par quel art il sa-
chent combatre e quele force il eient, e coment il se consen- 5
tent a lui, le quel ke il seient prest quant les bosines so-
neront, ou a son comandement, ou kant la guaite cornera; ou si
il se acordent ou noun, ou si il descordent en aucune chose ke
il sunt enseinez e apris, e com longes il porront en ce durer;
ou si il sachent bien courre en champ, e trere de arcs, ou 10
52r. lancer de darz, ou si il seient bien / apris a ordeiner une
eschele, ou si il seient gent ke l'em puisse amener a commune
bataille sanz mal engin. Le dustre deit estre touz jours veil-
lant e sobre e cointe, e deit tous jors juger quei poet avenir
de une part e de autre, e enquera conseil coment est des suens 15
e de ces adversaires. E si l'em dit ke il est plus sovereign en
plurors choses, e ke il veie ke covenable chose seit, ke il ne
porloigne mie ke il ne voist a la bataille; e si il set ke son
adversaire est plus puissant de lui, il deit eschiure la com-
mune bataille. Car les plus basse gent e ke furent meins par 20
nombre, par force de sorvenanz e de aguaitans souz bons dustres
enporterent sovent la victorie.

Quei est a faire de ost desacostumé de combatre.

En cest chapitre aprent li auctors quei est a faire si
aucun home eit en la bataille¹⁾ ost desacostumé²⁾ ou jovene
chivaler³⁾ ne mie acostumé de aler a la bataille. Touz ars e
totes maneres des overaines aident mut par usuel haunt e par
ententif haunt de chescun jour; e se est bosoigne ke l'em le 5
haunte ausi bien en petiz choses com en granz choses. Qui dou-
te ke le art de bataille ne vaille meuz ke nul autre art, par
la quele fraunchise est tenue, e la digneté, e l'empire del /
52v. pais est demostree e gardee par cel art? Les Lacedemoneys ja-
dis coutefierent e honorerent cel art e lesserent totes autres 10
doctrines, e si font uncore les Romains; e uncore hui cest
jour quident estrange gent icele art soulement estre a garder,
car totes autres choses sunt sostenues par cest art, ou qui-
dent bien estre ki la suit; ceste est mout necessarie as com-
batanz quant ele sustient lor vie e lor done victorie. Por ce 15
li dustres, a ki sunt donez tant de noblesses de tant de po-
esté, e possessor est de tant de vertu e de tant de fei e de
fortune ke la garde des citez e le salu des chivalers, est
creu de estre commune chose par glorie; tel dustre deit estre
curious non pas soulement por tot le ost, mes ensement por 20
totes les compaignies ke sunt en le ost. E si nule chose lor
avienge en bataille, ke seit sa coupe e ke seit commun tort.

1) After bataille, del is added above the line.

2) desacostumé: the a is added above the line.

3) MS. chualer

Por ce deit il espier ententivement les forces, les corages
e les costumes de totes les legions e des aides e des banerés,
si il i eit nul jovene chivaler en le ost ki longement eit
esté desacostumé des armes e nient usé. E si deit, si il puet¹⁾,
saver nomeement quel counte, ou quel prince ke il seit, ou quel 5
especial compaignon, combien il puisse faire en bataille. E
de com grant auctorité ke il seit, il deit chalenger totes
53r.les blasmes / de touz les chivalers de la legion, e deit a-
mender e adrescer e chastier les mesperanz; e si deit apar-
ceivre les experimenz de totes choses en divers lus e en di- 10
vers occasions. E a touz ces choses covient k'il prenge cure.
E quant il seront espars plus surement a quere preie sor lor
enemis, donc enveiera il eslue²⁾ gent e bien provee gent a
chival e a pé ou les juvenes chivalers ou o les plus bas, ki
par ascun occasion seient medllé³⁾ a lor enemis, ke par lor sa- 15
voir⁴⁾ ke hardiesce lor cresse. A passages des ewes, e a es-
treis de montaignes e de bois e des paluz, e as autres divers
perils les deit li dustres bien aider e socourre e ordiner ke
nul ne sache; e la endreit torner son chemin, e veer ke il
seient enseur com en mangaunt ou en bevant ou en dormaunt ou 20
en reposant, ou si il les trove desarmez ou deschaucez, ou si
lor chivals vount estraanz; e nient⁵⁾ soschaunz de ce il deit

1) puet: the e is expunctuated in the MS.

2) eslue: the s is added above.

3) medllé: the d is added above.

4) savoir: initial s- added.

5) A second e nient is expunctuated.

tot ce enquere e espier, mes ke il eit fiaunce en les suens
ki sunt ententifs a tele maneres d'estrifs, uncore le deit il
enquere. Car ceus ki ne virent grant tens a ou par aventure
home unkes occis ou naverez, il se doutent e ount pour quant
primes les veient, e pensent plus de fuer ke de combatre. Por 5
53v. ce si vos adversai/res vous contrarient, e vous veiez ke il
eient longement erré e sunt travaillez e lassez e sunt deses-
perez, les uns sunt loins des autres por defaute de vitaille,
seurement¹⁾ les envaiez e les assaillez si vous les poez sor-
mouter. Car les choses sunt avant assaier ke si il fussent 10
malement e meins nuisent, e si il finissent bien le plus pro-
fiteront. La manere de sage dustre est touz jours semer cause
de descord entre ces enemis. Car nul corouz, mes ke il seit
petit, ne puet estre assuagé des adversaires, si l'en ~~(ne)~~²⁾
degaste sei meimes par propres feintises. Car civile hange 15
est tresbuchement as enemis e profit a lor defension. Une
chose est a dire en cest overaine: ke nul se desespeire de
poer faire les choses ke sunt faites. Aucun dira par aventure:
Mout de grant corage sunt ki dirra bientost en l'ost "Nus ne
avom ke faire de fossé ne de valeie a maindre ens". E respon- 20
du serra: "Si ceste cointise fust en nous, nule sorvenue des
enemis ne nos³⁾ puet nuire ne de nuit ne de jour par eus, ke
il suient les Romains e font lor fossez e lor herbergeries."

1) seurement*: written above the MS. soulement.

2) MS. si ilene

3) nos: final -s added.

E por ce ke touz sunt pres de graveillouses, les sacs ke il /
54r. porterent void unt empli de terre, ke il ont fui e ont illuc
aporté, e unt fet grant moncel, e le unt acompli e funt. Touz
les estranges demaudent a lor chers amis assemblez partot ke
il seient enseur¹⁾ de nuiz des sorvenanz por fere herbergeries. 5
Nous dotom ke nous ne poum aprendre ce ke autres unt appris de
nous. Ices choses esteient avant gardeez en livres e par us,
mes il unt longement esté lessez, car nul ne les quist; por
ce ke pes fu en touz offices, necessité e art de bataille s'en
ala loins de pais. Mes ke impossible ne fust veu ke la disci- 10
pline fust reparailee, quele manere de us e de art les aun-
ciens avoient par ensamples le poom aprendre, ke nous ne met-
tom en obbli l'art de chivalerie. Mes primes covient estre mis
en livre, e puis après est confermez par auctoritez des hauz²⁾
princes e seignors. Scipio de Aufrike prist soventefez les 15
vencuz e les garda; e par riule de discipline les fist faire
totes maneres des overaignes e si continuelement fere fossez,
ke il dit ke les fosseors furent si soillez del tai, ke il ne
voleient pas aler en bataille por estre soillez del sanc de lor
54v. enemis. E a la fin quant la cité de Numantins / fu prise e 20
arse, ke nul ne eschapa. Metellus en Aufrike prist le ost ke
fu suzmis par le comaundement Albin, a ki il manda par aun-
ciens establisemenz ke ceus i fussent enveiez ke furent souzmis.

1) MS. eseur

2) MS. hauuz

E il veinteroient les legions de Borgoyne dedenz les terres
des Franceis, e ¹⁾ destrosseient; les queus autres quant Gailus
Marius le reçut, issi les aprist de science e del art de com-
batre, issi ki par commune bataille destruit ²⁾ il nent nombra-
ble multitudine, non pas soulement des Borgoybons mes ensement
des Tieys e des autres. Car plus leger est de aprendre les jo-
venes chivalers par vertu ke repareiller les pourés.

5

Queus choses l'em deit procurer cel jour ke l'em deit combatre.

En cest chapitre aprent li auctors queus choses sunt a
procurer a icel jour quant la comune bataille serra. Avant les-
sez les plus legers ars de bataille, al incertitudine del comun
assaut ore somont le auctor par reison de discipline de chiva-
lerie touz nacions e touz puples al jour destinables. Car la
plenitudine de victoire parmaint en avenement de convenable ba-
taille. E por ce icest ³⁾ est le tens ke les seignorages de tant
55r. deivent estre plus cu/rious de combien greignor glorie est es-
peré a ceus ke le eiment, e greignor peril i est a nunsachans;
doctrine e conseil deivent seignorer; les perigouz de combatre
perissent par defaute de saver. Aunciene costume esteit ke les
chivalers ki mettoient lor cures de aler en batailles, ke il
manjacent un poi, e puis furent plus hardiz e plus sachanz après
manger, e si la bataille durast geres longement, ke il ne fus-
sent lassez por meseise. Estre ce l'em deit bien garder, quant

10

15

20

1) e: added above the line.

2) destruit: the r is added above the line.

3) After icest, jour is crossed out.

l'en ameine gent en bataille ou hors de citez ou hors de her-
bergeries, ke le ost ne vienge mie par parties par les estreit-
tes portes. Por ce deit om porveier ke touz les chivalers is-
sent devant de les portes, e ke il eient ordiné lor escheles
devaunt ke lor enemy vienge. Qe s'il sunt manant dedenz cité e 5
le une partie se paraille e l'autre se porloigne e la terce
partie se feint, issi lor porrunt lor adversaires assailir e
les porrunt prendre avant k'il issent, ou al repairer ou al
aler; e quant ordre lor faut, si sunt esbaiz, e les autres
sunt lez quant il les trovent si esbaiz e sospris. L'em deit 10
55v. prendre garde des chivalers lassez après / lor cours, e por
les chivals, ke il ne voient pas a commune bataille; kar le
chivaler ki est a combatre perd mut de sa force par travail de
grant chemin. Ke fra li chivaler ki vient touz las a sa com-
paignie? Les aunciens ne les en gitterent pas, mes les hauz 15
dustres ordinereht issi e apristrent issi en ost ke le lassé
irait od le reposé e le malade od le sein e le bien corant od
celui ki bien set ester, e issi soffrir communement been e mal
en bataille.

De assentement des chivalers.

En cest chapitre aprent li auctors ke l'en¹⁾ covient en- 20
tentivement espier e encercher queus choses les chivalers sen-
tent e coment lor esta le jour ke il deivent combatre. Car

1) MS. l'em: the final stave is expunctuated.

fiaunce u¹⁾ doute est soventfoiz²⁾ par paroles e par movemenz
e de vout e par porture aparceu³⁾. Ne vus afie mie asez, si le
jovene chivaler coveite bataille; car la bataille del dustre
del ost est e covient; e vus devez conoistre bien ke vus le
devez porloigner si les combatanz ke sunt en mi⁴⁾ se doutent 5
de combatre. Neporquant par amonestement empar enticement del
dustre grant vertu e grant hardiesce nomeement creist a ost,
56r. si teus preisent raison de tel estrif ke fust a venir, / e
esperassent ke de leger puissent venir a victorie. Donc est a
montrer la peresce e le erreur de lor enemis, e a remembrer 10
est si il seient avant vencu de nous. E donc sunt a dire as
chivalers la ire e le dedein e la haienge de lor adversaries,
por mover lor pensers. E ce avient pres natureument a corages⁵⁾
de totes gent ke il se doutent aukes quant il vienent al as-
saut de lor enemis. Car sanz doute ces sunt les plus malades 15
des queus meimes le regard confund les pensers. Mes par cest
remedie est la doute assugé: ke vous ordinez vostre ost en plus
seurs leus avant ke vous combatiez, ke vous pussez vostre enemi
e veer e conoistre. E si il oient endementers aucune chose par
occasion, ou ke il fuient ou ke il destruent lor enemis. Cos- 20
tume fu de enemis de conoistre les chivals e les armes de lor
adversaires. Car ki sunt desusé ne sunt pas doté.

1) u: added above expunctuated e.

2) soventfoiz: the final syllable is written above the line.

3) In the MS. the de of e de vout is expunctuated; and e par porture is added above the line after vout.

4) MS. enmu

5) natureument: the r is added above.

De bon lu a faire batailles.

En cest chapitre aprent li auctors coment l'em deit eslire noble lu a la bataille. Bon dustre covient ke il conoisse grant partie de victorie, e ke il conoisse le lu la ou la bataille deit estre e ou l'em deit combatre. Car profitable lu mult vaut, 56v./ ki de tant plus profitable est jugé de combien il serra plus 5
soverein occupé. Car les darz descendent plus deveement en les subjez; e par greinor¹⁾ assaut la plus haute partie destreint les defendors. Ki ce aforce encontre haut lu, il receit doble estrif od²⁾ le lu e o le enemi. Mes ceste desestance est: ke si vous esperez³⁾ aver victorie de vos gent a pé encontre ces a 10
chival de vos enemis, vous devez eslire hauz lius e montaignes e aspres e nient owels; e si vous esperez veintre vos adversaires a pé od⁴⁾ vos genz a chival, vous devez quere lius plains e patentes⁵⁾ e apers, ke ne seient destorbez des bois, ne de paluz ne des autres destorbemenz. 15

Coment les compaignies deivent estre ordinees.

En cest chapitre aprent li auctors coment les compaignies deivent estre ordinez, ke il demorgent nient vencu en la bataille. Cil ki est a ordiner l'eschele deit garder treis choses: le solail e le vent e la poudre. Car le solail quant est devaunt la

1) greinor: the i is added above.

2) od: final d added above.

3) esperez: an initial d- is effaced.

4) od: final d added above.

5) e patentes: expunctuated in the MS, and ^{a further} apers, partially effaced, added above.

face tout la veue; le vent contrarie arasche teus choses e
destruit, e aide les dars de vos enemis; la poudre, quant est
devant vostre front, emplit les oilz e les clot ensemble. Ces
57r. choses soleient eschiure jadis ceus / ki ordinerent les es-
cheles; mes le dustre bien porveu le deit eschuire ce ke est 5
a venir, ke la conversion del solail mué ne nuisse pas le
jour, devaunt ke le vent ne cresce encontre eus a heure acos-
tume, quant deivent combatre. Issi seient les treis choses
ordineez, ke si estre puet ke touz treis seient encontre la
face de nos adversaires. Eschele si est dit ost bien apris e 10
frount ke regarde touz jours encontre son adversaire. Icest
si ele seit sagement ordinee en commune bataille mout aide;
e si ele seit maveisement ordinee par malveise ordinance, mes
ke il seient tresbien combatanz, si serront vencus. La ley
del aprise est ke tot premerement soient mis tot devaunt les 15
aunciens chivaler bien hauntez des armes, ke il apeloient de-
vant princes; en le second ordre serront bons archers e tresbons
chivalers, ki bien sachent lancer des darz e des launces; e
tuz autres armés seient drescez environ. Il soleient jadis
chalanger entre eus .iii. pés, ce est a dire en mil pas ou 20
mil.d.c.lxvi. de gent a pé sunt ordeiné en long, issi ke il
ne seit pas trop cler entre les compaignies e ke il eient es-
pace de traire lor armes. Entre un ordre e un autre ordre en
57v. lé soleient chescun estre .vi. pés¹⁾ de autre, / ke les com-
batanz ussent espace de aler e de revenir; car plus deveement 25

lassent il aler les darz o grant cours e o grant saut. En ces
deus ordres serront mis gent de meur age e usuele gent e bien
garni de greves armes. Ices serront ferm e sarré a manere de
mur, ne il ne serront pas destreint de combatre ne de suivre nul
home, ne il ne deivent pas destorber les ordres; mes si il vei- 5
ent lor enemis venant sus eus, donc deivent il combatre en es-
tant e enchacer les a faire les fuir. Le tiers ordre deit estre
ordiné de gent armé trop ignel, des bons archers, e des autres
launceors, ke il soleient apeler ferrenters. Le quart ordre
serra ordiné de trop vailante gent, des bons archers bien gar- 10
niz de totes maneres des armes, e des maces ou plomez, ke il
soleient apeler gent de leger armeure. E c'est a saver ke les
.ii. premiers ordres esteront, e le tiers ordre e le quart ser-
ront devant en le premer lu o seetes e o dars, e tuz jours
deivent issir e assailir lor enemis, si il les porront faire 15
torner a fuite, e bien serront a chival e les suieront; e si il
seient rebotez par lor enemis, si retourneront as premiers /
58r. ou a la seconde compaignie, e ceus les receveront entre eus a
lor lus. La premere eschele e la seconde, quant il vendront al
estandard, il sustiennent tote la bataille. En la quarte com- 20
paignie soleient jadis estre mis arblastiers, lengeors od¹⁾
lenges, e fondourz ki gitoient pieres, e sanz escuz furent e
issi combatirent. Le quint ordre après touz sera de trop ferme
gent e estable e bien garnie de totes maneres des armes, e

1) od: final d added above.

nomeement des bons escuz. E¹⁾ les enemis furent acostumez ser
après les desreines compaignies. Si aucune chose avenist as
premeres ordres, tote lor esperance de lor recoverement pen-
deit de lor forces.

De espace entre les compaignies.

En cest chapitre aprent li auctors la reison de celui ki 5
le greinor mestre este combien d'espace serra entre les compaign-
ies e entres les homes en lung, ou combien d'espace sera entre
toz les ordres en lé, e coment il les deivent garder. Puis ke
je ai apris e fait plain²⁾ coment les compaignies serront or-
deinees, ore après covient demostrer la plus profitable chose: 10
58v. c'est l'espace e la mesure / de meimes l'ordeinement. En mil
pas del champ une compaignie mil.d. e³⁾.c.lxvi. receit de gent
a pé, por ce ke touz cobatanz chalengent treis pés. Ke si vous
volez ordiner .vi. compaignies en mil pas del cham, noef⁴⁾ mi-
le vinteines e .xvi. de gent a pé i sunt necessaries. E si vous 15
vodrez estendre⁵⁾ cest nombre en treis, vous prendrez .ii. mile
pas; mes meus vaut de faire plusors compaignies ke esparpeiler
les chivalers. Nous diom ke .vi. pés deivent entreparer⁶⁾ de-
rere entre chescune compaignie en lé, e tuz ces pés⁷⁾ averont

1) E: added above the line.

2) plain: the i is added above.

3) In the MS. d is expunctuated and the following e added above.

4) MS. noes

5) estendre: initial -es* added above.

6) entreparer: the final -er is expunctuated.

7) MS. pers(?)

tuz les combatanz estanz. E por ce si vous ordinez .vi. esche-
les .lxii. pés en lé e mil en long, e si tendra le ost .xx.
mile homes. A ceste reison, le quel ke il eient vint mile ou
.xxx. de gent a pé, jousté la mesure de plus puisant sanz nu-
le dute les porrez bien ordeiner; ne li sires del ost n'est 5
pas deceu quant il set combien chescun lu puet recevoir de
genz armez. E neporquant, si le liu est plus estreit e plus
multitudine vienge de gent, .ix. escheles ou plus porrez or-
diner. Car meuz vaut ke il combatent serrez, ke l'un seit
trop loinz del autre; car si la compaignie seit trop tenue ou 10
trop esparsé lor enemis les porront bien trop grever s'il sor-
59r.viennent, e après ce n'ert nul remédie. / Onkore covient ordeiner
quel nombre serra en la destre cornere, e quel en la se-
nestre, e¹⁾ quel en miliu, ou ke il gardent lor dignitez par
costume, ou certainement s'acompaignent por la qualité de lor 15
enemis.

Le ordeinement de gent a chival.

En cest chapitre aprent li auctors del ordeinement de
gent a chival. Quant en bataille la compaignie de gent a pé
serra ordinée, donc serront les genz a chival mis a les cor-
neres, issi ke touz ki ont haubercs e ki sunt bien armez sei- 20
ent bien joint ensemble sanz gent a pé; e les archers e ceus
ki n'ont point de haubercs se tendront plus loins. Car les

1) e: expunctuated in the MS.

costez de gent a pé sunt a defendre par les plus fors homes a
chival e les plus ignels, e des genz a pé les corneres sunt a
defendre. Li princes e li dustre deit saver encontre les queus
choses e encontre queus adversaires l'em deit mettre gent a
chival. Car je ne sai par quele reison secré, si ne seit par 5
nostre seignor, ke les uns combatent meuz des autres, e ces ki
furent plus forz e venquirent esteient vencu soventefez des
plus fiebles. Ke si les genz a pé fussent nonper, par aunciene
59v. costume il esteient plus ignels ou legers escuz, / e furent a
ce hauntez e se acompaignerent a ceus a pé en le ost. Quant ce 10
fu fait, mes ke les plus forz chivalers des enemis i fussent,
neporquant il ne poroient pas estre pers a la compaignie ke fu
medllé¹⁾ ensemble. Un remédie troverent touz les aunciens dus-
tres, ke acostumeement fesoient les jovenes ki corroient noblement
e toust; touz jours entre .ii. a chival furent mis .ii. a pé 15
ou legers escuz e o espeies e o launces.

Queus deivent estre les aydes après les echeles.

En cest chapitre aprent li auctors queus deivent estre
les aides ki serront mis après les escheles. C'est une tres-
bone raison e ke mout aide a victorie, ke le dustre del ost
eit après les escheles aydes aparilez des meillors e de l'es- 20
lite, com de princes ou de vicaires, e a pé e a chival, les
uns entour une cornere e les autres entour un autre cornere

1) medllé: the d is added above.

e les tiers en mi; ke de quel part ke lor enemy lor assaut
soudeinement, ke la compaignie seit depescee ou ki se flec-
chissent, ke les aides paremplant tantost lor lius; e quant
serront ajosté a eus, ke il par vertu depiecent e destruent la
hardiesce de lor enemis. Ceste costume troverent primes les / 5
60r.Lacedemoneis, e puis le¹⁾ unt usé les Romeins. Nul ordeinement
ne vaut meuz ke cest ordeinement; car la compaignie dreitement
adrescee deit faire ceste soule chose e puet, ke il puisse
destrure son enemy e mettre a nient. Si compaignie seit a fai-
re ou autre eschele, vous devez trop aver de gent dount vous 10
possez faire fortes compaignies après l'eschele. E si la plen-
tiveté²⁾ seit avaunt movee, il serra avant mené fortement; car
si vous comencez de remuer chivaler ordiné de son lu, vous
destorberez tote la compaignie. Si un moncolement de vos ene-
mis departi voille destreindre une de vos eles ou ascune par- 15
tie, si vous n'eiez assez de gent ke vous puissiez mettre en-
contre cel moncel, ou de gent a pé ou de gent a chival le quel
ke vous eiez³⁾ de la compaignie, dementers ke vous volez de-
fendre les uns vous⁴⁾ denueriez les autres a vostre peril. E si
vous ne avez mie plenté de gent bien combatant, meuz vous⁵⁾ 20
vaut de aver plus petite compaignie, ke vous pussez mettre plu-
sors as aydes. Car entour les meimes parties del champ devez aver

1) le: added above the line.

2) plentiveté: final -té added above.

3) After eiez, esté is expunctuated.

4) MS. vous vous: the first vous expunctuated.

5) MS. vout

60v. esli/te gent bien armé, des queus vous frez un coing¹⁾, e tant
tost abaterez la compaignie des enemis; encontre les²⁾ corneres
devez mettre gent a chival od³⁾ haubercs e o croks, e gent a
pé de leger armeure, e puis te covient environer les eles de
vos enemis.

5

En quel lu le premer prince estera.

En cest chapitre aprent li auctors en quel liu le premer
prince del ost deit ester, e en quel lu le second, e en quel
lu le tiers. Li sires ki sostienent la principale poesté so-
leit ester entre les genz a chival e a pé en la destre partie.
C'est le leu en le quel tote la compaignie est governee e en 10
le quel si est dreit cours e franc cours. E por ce est il mis
entre les uns e les autres, ke il les puisse gouverner par son
conseil e par la auctorité e les puisse amonester a la bataille,
ausi bien ceus a chival com ceus a pé. Icesti deit avironer la
la destre cornere, ke est encontre ses adversaires, e touz des- 15
treindre les derere au dos, e si deit aver une grant nombre de
gent a chival mellez od⁴⁾ gent a pé. Le second prince serra
mis en la compaignie en milu de gent a pé, la quele compaignie
61r. il sostendra e fermera. Icestui / avera gent a pé tresforz e
bien armez od³⁾ sei ou de ceus ki sunt trop, des queus il ad 20

1) compaine* is written above coing.

2) MS. encontrelles

3) od: final -d added above.

4) od: final -d written above.

coing¹⁾; e il fra une forcheure, e ke il puisse aler encontre
lui o son coing²⁾. Li tiers prince si serra en la senestre par-
tie del ost, acez combatant e porveiant, por ce ke la senestre
part est plus pensant e est en la compaignie ausi com une maun-
che. Icestui avera entor sei bons chivalers sornombrez a chival 5
e³⁾ legiers gent a pé e tres igneus, des queus il defendera la
destre cornere, ke ne seit vencu des enemis. Le cri ne serra pas
levé si tost avaunt ke la une partie e l'autre soient joint en-
semble. La manere de nient sage gent e de pereçouse gent est de
faire grant noise de loins, ke lor enemis soient le plus esponté, 10
mes bon est ke le cri vienge ou le coup des dars. Vous devez
touz jors estudier d'aprendre vostre compaignie avaunt, car par
vostre jugement demeine poez faire ce ke veiez profitable a vous
quant nul ne est encuntre; enaprès devez aoiter fiance⁴⁾ bone a
vos e as adversaries nule⁵⁾; car mens forcibles sont soventefez⁶⁾ 15
ki venkent e ne doutent pas. Les enemis si doutent si tost com
il veient ordiner les escheles encontre eus. De ce avent grant
61v. avauncement; car quant tu serras bien apiris e apareilé or/dinee-
ment, tost poez conquere ton adversaire ke se doute. C'est une
bele partie de victoire, petite destorbance faire avant ke vus 20
combatez.

1) compaine* is written above coing.

2) od compaine* is written above o son coing.

3) After chival, e is added above the line and esstre expunctuated.

4) esperance* is written above fiance.

5) nule*: added above adversaries.

6) soventefez: e u* is added above the line before final -z.

Coment l'em deit encontre ester les enemis.

En cest chapitre aprent li auctors par queus remedies de
vertu ou de felonie poez encontre ester la compaignie de vos
enemis, forspris sorvenans ou en cours sodeinement par occasion.
Ke dустre de ost ne falt¹⁾ jamés. En chemins la ou il se las-
sent, e en passage des ewes e en divers paluz e en hautes mon- 5
taignes, e en boys e en champs, la ou il sunt espars e tra-
vaillez, e en lor hostels, la ou il²⁾ dorment seurement: en
teus lius est touz jours bataille trop bone, ou autres bosoignes.
~~nes~~. Car puis ke vostre enemy est occupé, il est³⁾ avant vencu
eins ke il sei puisse apariler; mes si les adversaires seient 10
cointes e il n'eient nul espie, quant il sunt enpresent e le
sevent e le veient; donc se combatent il par owele condicion.
Nequedent art de bataille ne aide pas meins ceus ki le ount
apris en apert assaut ke il ne fait en privez traisons. Mes
om se deit bien garder del ele de la senestre cornere, nomee- 15
62r. ment ke so/vent avient, ou uncore de la destre cornere, ke
rerement sovent avient, ke vous ne seiez environé, e ke vous
seiez seur pur la multitudine de vos enemis, ou de wacranz ou
de moncels⁴⁾. E si ce avient, ke vous eiez une remedie, ke
vous environez e repliez vostre ele de vostre cornere⁵⁾, ke 20
les vos se convertent e defendent lor compaignons derere; mes

1) MS. fait

2) MS. id

3) est*: added above the line.

4) After moncels, k'il issi apelent is expunctuated.

5) MS. cornere.

en la dereine aungle devez mettre trop forte gent, car iloc
soleit touz jors estre le plus fort assaut. Derichef rencontre
la compaignie des enemis poez contre ester par certeine me-
sures. Ce ke il apelent cuneus c'est une multitudine de gent
a pé ke est joint a l'eschele com en ayde; primes est estreit, 5
e puis après plus lé. Issi depiesce le ordre des adversaires,
por ce ke il sunt plusors e touz jors enveient lor darz en un
lu. E ceste chose apelent les chivalers teste de porcel. E en-
contre ce si est ordiné un autre, ke est apelé forcheure. Car
ce serra ordiné de eslus chivalers, e serra departi en .v., e 10
ce destrut lor compaignie, dont je vous di avant, e le for-
clot de une partie e de autre; e quant si est fait ne puet pas
62v. desseverer l'eschele. Uncore i ad un autre ke il apelent / ser-
ree¹⁾; c'est une compaignie de noble gent, e sera dreit adrescé
encontre le front des enemis, ke la compaignie avant destorbee 15
seit reparailee. Uncore i ad une autre compaignie ke est apelé
globus; quant ele est departie, par sa art demeine e sorvenue
de ayde si destorbe lor enemis; encontre ce est remedie ou plus
fort pople e plus vigerous, ke touz jours suera après. Mes une
chose est a garder nomeement, ke pus ke la bataille est ordinee, 20
ke nul ne se remue de un lu drekes un autre; car de ce nest
grant estrif e grant noise e grant confusion.

1) serree: final -e added above.

La manere de comune bataille e le ordeinement.

En cest chapitre aprent li auctors en quantes maneres commune bataille est jointe, issi ke celi ki est plus bas e meins ad de force e de nombre de gent puisse sormonter. Il i ad set maneres de batailles, ou set mesures, quant les batailles sunt depliez de ambe parz. Une bataille est en le front devant parti en quatre de long le ost, si com ore est e pres totdis soleit estre fait. Mais ceste manere de bataille demostrent ceus ki sunt sage des armes e non pas les meillors. Por ce ke l'eschele deit estre tendue en long espace, l'em ne
63r. trove pas touz jors ouvel champ ke aucune des/torbance ne seit en milu ou en costé ou en trop curt liu, e illuc est sovent la compaignie deceu. Estre ce son adversarie par similitudine vait devant ou a costé, e le deceit a destre ou a senestre; en le quel soud grant peril, si vous ne eiez aucuns sorve- nans ke courgent devant vostre enem i e le sostiengent. Par ceste manere soul le deit deceivre ki avera plusors combatans e fors, si ke il venque son enem i en chescune cornere e ke il ensemble cloe le ost¹⁾, ausi com en son sein. La seconde bataille est commune e a plusors meillor; en la quele si vous eiez ordiné un poi de noble gent en covenable lu, e ke vous seiez desturbé par vertu e par similitudine de vos enemis, encore porrez enporter la victoire. De ce si est la manere tele: quant les compaignies bien aprises vendrunt avant, donc

1) In the MS. cloe (cloc?) is expunctuated and clos* written above the line after ost.

devez departir loins vostre senestre ele de lor destre de vostre
adversaire, ke il ne puissent en nule manere ne lancer ne giter;
e vous joindrez vostre destre ele a lor senestre e la comencera
primes la bataille, issi ke ou gent a chival tresbone e o gent
a pé bien esprové pussez envair e veintre lor senestre partie, 5
63v. a la quele vous estes joint; e ke en alant / ou en corant vien-
gez tot dreit a dos de vos enemis. Car si vous eiez une fez co-
mencé de enchacer vos adversaires, quant les vos aprocheront
sanz doute vous conquerez la victoire, e la partie de ton ost
ke vous averez rescous de ton ennemi durra seurement. E en tele 10
manere deivent les compagnies estre ordineez a la bataille, a
la manere de ceste lettre A¹⁾. Ke si vostre adversaire vous eit
primes ce fait, vous devez mettre ceus ki sunt outre nombre, si
com avaunt deimes, après vostre compagnie, ausi bien gent a
chival com gent a pé, e les devez coillir a vostre senestre cor- 15
nere; e en teu manere poez contre ester vos adversaires par
grant force, ke vous ne seiez deboté par art. La tierce bataille
est semblable a la seconde, mes en tant est ele peior ke quant
vous comencez de envair les de vostre senestre cornere a lor
destre. Car lor assaut est com une maunche, e apertement ceus 20
ki combatent en la senestre cornere envaissent lor enemis ou
grant espleit. E ce vous demostrai je plus apertement: Si vous
avez a la fie vostre senestre ele meillore e loins, donc devez
joindre a eus gent a chival e a pé tresforz, e a vostre aler
64r. premerement / la pliez a la destre ele de vos enemis, e hastez 25

1) MS. a

vous al plus ke vous poez de veintre e de enchacer la destre
partie de vos adversaires. E vostre ele del ost, en la quele
vous savez bien ke vous avez la pire partie des combatanz, de-
partez la loinz de lor senestre, ke il ne puissent aprocher
des espeies ne lancer des darz. En iceste manere de bataille 5
devez vous mout bien garder ke vostre compaignie traversant
seit enginé par la compaignie de vos enemis. Par icele soule
manere par aventure combat om profitablement si vostre adver-
saire eit la plus fieble destre cornere e vous de loinz la
plus forte senestre. La quarte bataille est tele: ke quant 10
vous averez ordinee vostre eschele, devant de .iiii.c. ou de
.v.c. pas avaunt ke vous viengez a vostre enemi, nous esperom
ke vous covient sodeinement oster ambedeus voz eles, ke de
l'un e l'autre cornere tornez vos enemis nient porveus en
fuie e plus tost conquerez victoire. Mes itele manere d'es- 15
trif, mes ke il venke tost e eit avant mené les tresfors e
bien hauntez, neporquant perilouse chose est, por ce ke il
covient a force ke il desnue la mesnee eschele ke si combat,
64v. e covient ke il departe son ost en / deus parties. E si vos-
tre enemi ne seit vencu al premer assaut, il a occasion por 20
ce ke il l'envai e k'il establi sa meine¹⁾ eschele e departi
ces corneres. La quinte bataille si est semblable a la quarte,
mes ceste soule chose ad il plus, ke il met avant la premere
compaignie gent de legere armeure com archers e arblastiers,

1) MS. mesine: the s is expunctuated.

ke quant ceus contre esteront, ne porront pas estre deceu.

Kar s'il assaut sa senestre cornere de sa destre e sa destre
de sa senestre, ke si il le puet enchacer, maintenant le vein-
tera; e si sa meesne compaignie mein ne travaille, por ce ke il
est defendu de autri armeure com de archers. La siste bataille 5
est trôp bone, e si est pres de illoc semblable a la secoude,
de la quele ceus usent ki se desespeirent de la vertu e del
nombre des soens. E si il les eient bien ordinez, mes ke il
seient poi, soventefez ont il la victorie; car la compaignie
bien aprise aproce ces enemis. Joinez vostre destre ele a sa 10
senestre ele de vos enemis, e illuc comencez vostre bataille
par tresbone gent a chival e mout igneus a pé. E l'autre par-
tie de vostre ost remuez mout loins de la compaignie des vos
adversaries e mettez les reddement avant com une lance; e si
vous comencez de ferir de vostre senestre partie a costé e 15

65r. derere, il tor/neront en fuie. E vostre adversaire ne se puet
aider par nul travail, ne de sa destre partie ne de sa demie
eschele, por ce ke vostre eschele est estendue e se estent a
la manere de une treslonge lettre ke departe des enemis. Par
queu manere om est sovent desconfit en chemins. La setisme ba- 20
taille est cele ke aide le combatant par benefice del lu. Car
en iceste porrez vous sustenir bataille encontre vostre ad-
versarie par meins de gent e par meins force; ce est a saver
si vous eiez del une partie montaigne ou mer ou ewe ou cité
ou paluz ou bois, ke vostre enem¹⁾ vous puisse aprocher. 25
E vostre autre ost devez adrecer par dreit ordre de compaignie;

1) MS. no

mes en icele ki n'ad point de garnison, mettez touz ke sunt
a chival e les ferrenters. Donc poez seurement combatre a vos-
tre enemy a ton voil; car nature vous garnist bien del une
part, e del autre part est mis pres doble chivauchee. Une cho-
se devez vous bien garder, car nule chose ne vaut meuz, ke si
vous volez combatre seulement de vostre destre cornere, la
mettez tresforte gent; e si vous volez combatre de la senestre
cornere, donc mettez illuc tresnoble gent, e si vous volez
65v. mettre compaignies en milui / par queus vous poez rompre les
compaignies de vos enemis. En tele manere soleit sovent vic-
toire estre, par poi de gent bien usez e hauntez par ordre de
combatre. Tant est ke eslite gent del prince del ost tressage
seient ordinez en teus liuz si com reison demande e profitable
chose est.

De doner voie as enemis de departir.

En cest chapitre aprent li auctors coment vous devez do-
ner veie a vos enemis de departir, ke les fuanz seient plus
legerement destruit e confunduz. Plusors ki ne sunt pas a pris
del art de chivalerie creient aver plus plenere victorie si il
eient environé lor adversaires en estreit liu ou par multitu-
dine des armés, ke il ne trovent nul issue de departir. Mes
quant il sunt enclos¹⁾, por la desesperance lor crest hardiesce,
e cum il n'i eit esperance de vie, doute li fait prendre les

1) MS. enchos

armes. Mout volenters desire celi morir ou autres, ki set ben sanz doute ke il deit morir. E por ce la centence de cel noble home Scipio est a loer, ke dist issi: "Nous ne devom pas garnir la voie de nos enemis la ou il voilent fuir." Car quant il ount apert issue de departir e somoil lor prent, mout de 5 ceus ki s'i assentent sunt tuez com berbiz. Ne des suianz n'i 66r. ad / nul peril; car il sunt vencuz quant il ount torné lor armes dont il se puissent aver defendu. E par iteu manere, com plus i avera multitudine de gent, de tant est de plus leger abatu. Illoc ne deit om pas quere nombre de gent la ou il sunt 10 pourous de corage; car il ne coveite pas plus fuir les coups des darz des enemis. Mes la face des autres ke sunt clos, mes ke il seient poi par nombre e fieble de force, neporquant si sunt il pers a lor enemis, ke il se despeirent e ce pernent a defendre, quant meuz ne porront faire. Car ki n'ad ke une vie 15 e il la quide sauver, il la sauve.

Coment l'em deit departir des enemis.

En cest chapitre aprent li auctors coment l'en deit departir¹⁾ des enemis si le conseil desplest a la bataille e descorde. Car ceus ki furent sages des ensamples e de teu manere de discipline tesmoinent ke greignor peril ne poet avenir. Car ki s'en depart de la compaignie avant l'assaut de la bataille, il tout fiance as suens, e a ces enemis done hardiesce. E por ce ke ce avent sovent, nous devom demustrer en 20

1) departir: final -r added.

queu manere ce porra plus seurement estre fait. La premiere
66v. chose est por quei il se declinent e volent depar/tir: por ce
ke il ne volent pas entrer en la bataille; e creient par aucun
art ke il serront reapelez ou ke lor enemy seit somons a plus
covenable lu; e plus legerement veintra, ou certainement, ke 5
plus seur aguaiz soient mis si lor adversaires les suent.
Car mesters est ke il soient aparilez a fuie ki sentent ke
lor espie se desespeire. E se fait bien a enquire ke lor ene-
mis ne sachent tens de lor departir. Por ce plusors mistrent
touz jours gent a chival devant gent a pé, ke il ne lessasent 10
pas veer lor adversaires com ceus a pé departirent. Derichef
par parties se departirent, primes une partie e puis un autre,
ke il ne feissent traison a lor compainons; e les autres ki
furent remenans furent reapelez arere en lor degré, a les
queus il se joinoient puis après trenchamment les queus a- 15
veient primes trai. E les aucuns ki aveient espiez les chemins
s'en departirent de nuiz del ost, ke lor enemis, au matin
quant il se fussent aparceu, ne les pussent ateindre. Estre
ce gent de leger armeure furent enveié devant a les tertres,
a les queus surement e sodainement fust le ost repaîré; e si 20
les enemis les vousisent sure, de gent de leger armeure, ke
67r. avant aveient / porpris le lu, ces a chival veneient e les
confundeient. Car il ne quident nule chose estre plus peri-
louise chose ke sanz conseil siure après ceus ki serront de-
parti. En cel tens seit bien gardé ke covenablement soient 25
les agueis bien gardez, car envers les fuiantz greindre

hardiesce est e mendre cure. Car plus grant seurté soleit so-
vent aver plus gref damage, cum quant il manjoient, quant il
furent lassez, quant il pessoient lor chivaus, ou quant il
dormeient, e nul mal ne soschoient. Donc soleient estre fait
les assauz com a Keneling Worthe. Ce est a eschiure¹⁾ al une 5
partie e al autre. En itel cas ne vertu ne puet aider ne mul-
titudine de gent. Car en commune bataille le une partie vein-
tra; mes ke art i puse mout valer, neporquant om se puet acuser
par fortune. Car cil ki soffre l'assaut en bataille, il ne puet
mie escuser sa coupe, car il le porroit aver conu avant e es- 10
chure par nobles espies. Quant om departe, tele tricherie e
tele fraude soleit estre faite²⁾: poi de gent a chival suent
après par le dreit chemin; ceus a chival assaient e legerement
departent la ou il vienent a la compaignie de lor enemis, e
67v. par les compaignies priveement sunt envoiez en / autre lius. 15
Iceus creient bien ke qui seit de aguait passera e sanz cure
retornera a negligence; donc icele compaignie ke est destinee
par le privé chemin e est sorvenant destrut les mesperanz. E
plusors, quant il s'en departent de lor enemis, si il deivent
aler par bois, il lessent ceus ki gardent les estreiz chemins, 20
ke il ne seient espiez; e derichef cloent après eus les voies
e coupent les branches des arbres. E pres de illuc al un³⁾ e
l'autre partie en cheminans comune occasion est as assegez;
car celi ki vait avant e trove les bois covenables a son oes,

1) MS. eschiue

2) After faite, de is written above the line.

3) MS. alun

e les montaignes e les valeies, les queus il ad lessé derere
li, il recourt arere e ce muce, e fait illuc ces aguais; e si
son ~~enemi~~ i vienge, il l'assaut, e aide les soens. E celi ki
suit loinz de divers chemins, e si son adversaire est devant,
il le destreint e l'enclot e derere e devant; e celui ki l. 5
suit, tant com il ad force, le puet aider a fraude. En pas-
sage des ewes, ki vait devant cele partie il assaie de des-
trure ces ki primes passeront, demeters ke les autres seient
departiz en le gué; e celui ki suit hastivement le chemin, il
destorbe ceus ki ne poont passer. 10

Des camels e des autres bestes en batailles.

68r. En cest chapitre nous counte li auctors des camels / e
des autres bestes passaunz armez. Aucunes nacions amenerent
auncienement camels en lor compaignies. Mes ceste manere des
bestes siet bien aler les chemins gravelouses, e quant il
sofre grant seif i alient en¹⁾ vent e poudre en les voies 15
sanz error. Estre la noveuté des autres choses, il est nient
covenable en bataille s'il seit veu de cele gent. Les cate-
fractés de²⁾ ceus ki sunt a chival por les granz garnisons
dont il ont mester, porront soffrir grant plaies; mes por la
destorbance e la grant charge des armes de leger se fait pren- 20
dre, e autres choses ke sunt nuisanz sovent a ceus. Il valent
meuz de loinz quant il sunt mellez ou les legions e mis entre

1) en: final -n added above.

2) de: added above the line.

eus encontre ceus a pé ki sunt espars, ou encontre ceus ki sunt a chival; ce est a dire ke il combatent mein a mein. Quant il sunt pres il depiecent sovent les compaignies de lor enemis.

Coment l'em deit encontre ester as charettes.

En cest chapitre aprent li auctors coment l'em puet con- 5
tre ester a charettes e as elefanz e as autres engins. Le roy Antiochus aveit en bataille chars e autres engins, ke premiere-
ment firent grant noise e puis après furent torné a escharn¹⁾.
68v. Car tel / engin ne trova pas legerement ses cours²⁾ en plein
champ, e fu retenu par petit destorbement e legerement; e par 10
un assaut ou par un chival naveré est il deceu. Mes les chiva-
lers de Rome perirent par cest art nomeement: quant il vind-
rent a bataille il gitterent sodeinement par tot le champ teus
maneres des choses, ke quant les chars i vindrent corant en
cel champ tost maintenant i sunt destruit. Icest engin si est 15
fait de quatre pels, ke quant vous le gettez de vous les treis
sunt ver la terre e le quart est contremount drescé. Les ele-
fanz en batailles por la grandescence de³⁾ lor cors e par grant
hidour de lor forme e par lor noveuté destorbent homes e che-
vaus. Iceus elefanz le rei Pricus amena primes encontre l'ost 20
de Rome en Lucanie, e puis Hannibal en Aufrike, e puis le⁴⁾

1) escharn: final -n added above.

2) MS. couz

3) MS. do

4) MS. re

roy Antiocus apré en Ynde en aveit grant plenté; encontre les
queus divers maneres de engins funt penser por encontrer. Car
centurion en Lucanie fist catefractes e espeies e une manere
des croks; e puis les joindrent ensemble al cours de un chival
e les gitterent as elefanz. Car il furent bien garni de fer e 5
n'esteient point blescez les bestes, ne les archers ne les po-
69r. eient nul mal faire, mes es/chiuent lor assaut par la vistesse
de lor chevaux. Autres chivalers envoierent autres enginz en-
contre les olifanz ke il apelerent catefractes, issi ke en lor
braz e en lor espauls e en lor heaumes fussent mis agulons 10
poignans de fer, ke il ne puisse comprendre combatant del oli-
fant¹⁾ venant encontre li. Neporquant une aunciene gent ordi-
nerent encontre les olifanz ke il apelerent jovene gent de le-
ger armeure e de cors halegre, ke seoient sor tresbons chivals
e adrescerent lor engins de launcher darz. Iceus occieient ce- 15
les bestes sor bons chivaus bien coranz ou plus longues launces
e ou greinors dars. Mes quant la hardiesce crut, plusors chi-
valers coillé ensemble après ce samblèrent e giterent e laun-
cerent une autre manere des dars, e les plaierent. E ce est
oie chose, ke les lengours ou²⁾ lor lenges e les foundeors ou 20
lor fundes les gittoient des peres rondes a les bestes e les
tueient, de quele chose nule plus seure chose ne est trové.
Estre ce quant les bestes vindrent, les genz armez se assem-
blerent de tote pars o touz les mestres, e tot sanz plaie les

1) A second del olifant is expunctuated.

2) MS. lengours o ou

pristrent nient blessez. E arblasters, ki vindrent de loinz
69v. sor bons chivals / e sor muls sojornez, aprocherent¹⁾ a les
bestes e les tuerent; plus leement e plus fermement le fer fu
fiché dedenz lor cors, ke il aveient si gros, ke a peine apar-
roient les granz plaies. Mout de maneres des ensamples e mut 5
de machinacions avom nous recounté encontre les olifanz, ke
quant bosoigne e mester serra, ke l'em sache queus choses sunt
a contre ester a si granz bestes.

Ke est a faire si une partie departe del ost.

En cest chapitre aprent li auctors ke l'em deit faire si
une partie s'enfuit ou trestut le ost. Ce est a saver ke si une 10
partie del ost eit vencu e une partie s'enfuie, l'em ne deit
pas trop desperer, car en tele necessité le dustre ki remaint
poet chalenger a lui tote la victorie. Ce avient en mainte ba-
taille, ke ceus ki se desespererent urent la souveraine main au
desrein. Car en semblable condicion il est creu le plus fort 15
ke contrariouses choses ne grevent pas. Premierement quant lor
enemis sunt departi del ost si prenge le champ e coille en-
semble les espoiles, primes²⁾ se deient esbaudir par cri de
busynes ou des corns; car par iceste fiance puet il espauter
ces enemis. En cele manere poet il doubler fiaunce as soens, 20
70r. ausi / com si il fust departi vencour de totes pars. Ke si en
aucun cas trestot l'ost seit alié a une compaignie, il default

1) The MS. repeats: e sor mulz sojurnez aprocherent

2) MS. prmes

en plusors, e medicine est tost a querre. Por ce le princes
del ost ki se siet bien porveier sous cele cautele deit com-
batre en comune bataille, ke si aucune chose avienge por di-
versefiance des batailles ou de humaine condicion, sanz gref
enpirement il delivera les vencuz. Car si les montaignes sunt 5
lor veisins, ou si auscune garnison seit derere, ou si les
plus fors de ceus ki departirent seient mûcez, il garderont
eus a les lour. Car soventefez les compaignies espars e suianz
sunt repareilé par forces e destruit. Car unkes ne soleit grey-
nor blame venir as joianz ke quant il sunt muez en doute de lor 10
sodaine cruauté. Mes ceus ki sunt resident en bataille sunt a
ensemble coillir par sorvenue, e sunt a redrescer par covenables
amonestemens e a norrir par restõrement de lor armes. Donc ser-
ront quis noveles aydes par novel delit e, ke plus profite, as-
saut est¹⁾ a faire en meimes les vencours par privez aguais a 15
ceus²⁾ ki unt desiré occisions, e en teu manere est hardiesce
a reparailier. Ne covenableté ne default pas, quant humaine pen-
70v. sers sunt fait plus / orgueilleusement e nient cointement ou
fieblesse. Si aucun quide icel derein cas, pense de venue³⁾ de
totes batailles aver esté plus entre les comencemens encontre 20
ceus as qeus victoire est deue.

1) est: expunctuated in MS.

2) A second a ceus is expunctuated.

3) MS. cas de penser e de venu^e : the first de is expunctuated,
together with the final -r of penser and the following e.
The final -e in venue is added above the line.

Les generales ruilles des batailles.

En cest chapitre aprent li auctors les generales ruilles
des batailles. En tuz batailles de espleit est la condicion
tele, ke ce ke profite a vous nuit a vostre adversairie, ce
ke aide lui a bien mester a vous. Por ce ne devom nous jamés
faire¹⁾ aucune chose a la volulté de lui, mes faire icele sou- 5
le chose ke nous jujom estre profitable a nous. Kar il comence
estre encontre tei si vous lessez ce ke il fist por sei, e de-
richief quele chose ke tu averas asaié por ta partie encontre
lui serra si il nel veut siure²⁾.

En bataille ki plus avera veillé e ki plus avera travail- 10
lé en hauntant les chivalers mendre peril soustendra.

Chivaler jamés ne deit estre en compaignie si vous ne eiez
avant coneu les esproves ou de meseise ou de sorvenue ou de pour.

Meuz vaut danter son enemí par feim ke par bataille, en
la quele soleit plus aver de³⁾ poesté fortune ke vertu. 15

Nul conseil ne est meyllor ke n'est le conseil ke vostre
adversaire ne set pas avant ke vous le facez.

71r. Occasion soleit / plus valer en bataile ke vertu.

En sollicitudines de recevoir vos enemis, si il viennent
ou bone fei, est mult grant seurté, por ce ke il depiescent 20
plus lor adversaire.

Meuz est de garder plusors aydes après la compaignie ke

1) After faire, ne faire is expunctuated.

2) MS. vout seure corrected to veut siure.

3) de : added above the line.

plus leement esparpiller le chivaler.

E de plus leger veint ki verdraiement poet de ces biens e
de les biens son adversaire challenger.

Plus ayde vertu ke multitudine.

Plus profite soventefoiz lu ke vertu.

5

Nature engendre poi des forz homes, si rend plusors par
bon institucion.

Noblesce de ost est avancé par travail.

Jamés ne amenez chivaler a commune bataille for quant
vous le veiez esperance aver de victorie.

10

Sodeines choses espauntent enemis, e choses usez vilissent.

Ki siut nient consilé quant ces gens sunt espars la chose
ke il aveit enpris, il veut doner victorie a sun adversairie.

Ki ne se paraille pas ses necessaries, vitaille e conduit,
il est vengu sanz fer.

15

Celui ki avaunt est de vertu e de multitudine, cil poet
combatre al front quarré devaunt: c'est la premiere manere.

Ki se demoustre nomper, en sa destre cornere il deboute
la senestre cornere de son enemis: ce est la seconde manere.

71v. Ki la senestre ele de son enemis envaist, / ce est la
tierce manere.

20

Ki ad tresbien haunté chivalers, en le un e l'autre cor-
nere ensemble deit comencer la bataille: ce est la quarte manere.

Ki gouverne tresbone e legere armeure, il puet assailler
l'un e l'autre ele de son enemis, e ke les ferrenters seient
devant la compaignie establiz: c'est la quinte manere.

25

Ke il ne s'afie point en la vertu de ces chivalers ne en le nombre, s'il est a combatre, de sa destre ele deit il veintre¹⁾ la senestre ele de son enemy e touz ces autres estenduz a la manere de une launce e adresce: ce est la siste manere.

Ki se conoist bien aver plus poi de gent e plus fiebles -- ce est la setime²⁾ manere -- ke il deit aver aucun ayde, ou de montaigne ou de cité ou mer ou ewe ou aucun autre chose. 5

Ki s'afie en chivauchee, si querge les plus covenables lius a gent a chival, e demeine sa chose plus par gent a pié.

Quant l'espeie des enemis mesprent apertement en herbergeries, seit comaundé a eus ke il voient de jour a lor tentes, e tant tost seit l'espie pris. 10

E conseil est ke jameis³⁾ por nul occasion ou en nule necessité s'asailent.

Grant ordeinement est enemy plus tost veintre par feim ke par fer. 15

Plusors comaundemens sunt de chivaucherie; mes com ceste 72r. partie de chivalerie⁴⁾ meuz vaile par us e par / haunt des armes e par noblesce des chivals, je ne quid nule chose plus a coillir des livres, com la doctrine soffise asez. 20

Par queu manere vous volez combatre je ne sai, ne le sachent pas vos enemis, ke il ne seient apais de contre ester

-
- 1) A second deit il veintre is expunctuated.
2) MS. seconde: -conde is expunctuated and -time* added above.
3) MS. Com le conseil jameis: Com le is expunctuated, and e is added above; est ke* is added above the line after conseil.
4) chivalerie: -lerie is written above the line after chiva.

par aucuns remedies.

Empereor nient vencu, demostrez sunt les choses ke les
tresnobles auctors demustrent par divers tens, e sunt provez
par fei de memoire¹⁾ e des experimens: cum de aparceivre le
art de traire seetes, doun tote Perce se merveille de cele so- 5
tileté; e a la science de bien chivaucher e²⁾ a la beauté, la
quele honour la nacion des Alemanz vouldreit volenters siure, si
ele poeit; a la vistesce de courre, la quele Sarasinz e ceus de
Ynde ne funt pas comparison; al hant des armes dount les mes-
tres³⁾ del champ s'esjoissent ki ount entendu les ensamples e 10
les ruelles, ne mie seulement de combatre mes ensement de veintre.
Ke vous par vertu e ensement par ordeinement de ceste merveil-
louse e commun profit, ke vous avez le mester⁴⁾ e de empereor
e de chivalers.

La premere constitucion del comencement du siecle e de 15
citez descrit la vie des homes nient cotivé de la commune⁵⁾
72v. ^{de} mortes / bestes e de bestes sauvages. En ices profit trove
le non de commune chose. E por ce, empereor trespuissant, les
nacions ke sunt sacrez as princes ne quiderent nule major glo-
rie ou de faire noveus citez ou a les citez ke furent jadis 20

-
- 1) memoire: the i is expunctuated and another r added above.
2) e: expunctuated in the MS. and ou written above.
3) mestres: final -s written above the line.
4) MS. mestrie: -rie is expunctuated.
5) MS. commurete: -rete is expunctuated, and ne added above mu.

faites doner noun suz une amplificacion. En quel ovre la boney-
reté de vostre hautesce ad¹⁾ tote la victorie. Car des autres,
ou poi ou tuz, nent nombrables citez sunt parfaites a si grant
travail par ta pité, ke il sunt veu bien parfaites non pas sou-
lement par meins de home mes si com Deus meimes les ust fait. 5
Vous soul, empereor nient vencu, passez touz empereors par de-
boneireté, par temperance, par chasteté e par bons ensamples,
e par indulgence des estudies e par amour. Car le age ke est
passé desira de mettre avant les biens de ton regne, de ton co-
rage e de ton estrif, e le siecle ke est a venir le desire de 10
mettre avant a touz jours. Les queus seulement a tot le mund
profitent e s'enjoent²⁾, tant com humaine pensee³⁾ le puet a-
73r.vant mettre e devine grace puet faire. Mes / a ces ordeinemenz
de vostre hautesce, combien l'aparailement des murs e le travail
avera profité, Rome l'enseine, ke le salu de la cité de Capi- 15
toloine garda bien par defens; car enaprès ele avoit gloriouse-
ment le comandement de tot le monde. E por ce a le parlement
del overaingne de vostre seignorie par vostre comandement les
avant dites raisons ressues, par les queus ou les nos citez
sunt a defendre ou les citez de nos enemis sunt a graventer. 20
Ne m'en pesera point de mun travail, quant je ai ordiné par
ordre les divers auctors, ke quant il sunt fait il profiterunt
a tuz.

1) ad: final -d added above the line.

2) MS. s'enjoist: -ist is expunctuated and replaced by -ent.

3) MS. penser: a second e is added above the line before ex-
punctuated -r.

BOOK IV

Les chapitres del quart livre.

Ci finist le tiers livre e comence le
premer chapitre del quart livre :

Touz citez e touz chastels ou il sunt garniz par nature
ou par mein ovre ou par l'un e l'autre, ke est plus fermement
dit; ou il est mené e fait par nature ou par feisance des lus, 5
ou desuz roche, ou ke la mer l'enclose ou paluz ou autre ewe;
ou fossez de mains faites ou de mur. En icel naturel benefice
tresseur est demandé conseil de eslire le foundement en pleine
73v.terre. Car nous / avom veu les auncienes citez si bien faites
en plein champ, ke quant les aydes des lius defailloient, ne- 10
porquant par ar e par lor overaigne se tindrent nient vencuz.

Les aunciens voleient faire l'avirounement del mur tot
dreit, ke l'entree des enemis fust demostré; mes il clostrent
les citez de reims des espines e des autres choses, e si firent
mult des tours en les angles, por ce ke si aucun venist al mur 15
ke issi fust fait par itel ordeinement ke il vousist oster les
engins par eschele, ke il fust pris e enclos ausi com en un
sein devant e en costé e pres de iloc derere au dos.

Le mur est issi fait par ceste raison, ke il ne pust jamés estre abatu: deus pareies sunt fait dedens par entreval de vint pez. Enaprés la terre ke serra gitté sus est mis entre ceus -- ke de plan de la citez a la manere de degrez ke l'em pusse monter dreskes a bredeschés -- por ce ke le mur ne¹⁾ puet estre depescé par nul engin quant la terre est²⁾ fermé ensemble. Car quel ke manere de cas, mes ke les peres ke sunt enteez en les 74r.pareies seient destrutes ceus ki aident au mur, / neporquant la pesantime de la terre encontre esta.

Estre ce je lou ke les portes ne seient arz par fu. Por ce covient ke les portes seient covert ou de fer ou de quir; ce porra mult profiter, ke auncienement fu trové, ke devant la porte seit un bretasche, ke l'em pusse faire piks de fer devant, e pendera par bones cordes e fortes ou par aneus de fer, ke si lor enemis entrent e cele seit lessé coler aval, ke il seient esteint e enclos. E suz la porte est a ordiner un mur³⁾ ou mout de pertuz, ke si l'em i met feu, ke l'em le pusse esteindre de ewe ke l'em i gitera.

1) ne: added above the line.

2) est: added above the line.

3) After mur, a ordiner is repeated.

Les fossez devant les citez furent faites treshautes e
larges e lees, ke il ne pussent pas legerement estre fait
owels ne paremplis de ces ki les assiegent; e quant les ewes
comencent a crestre, ke il ne soffrent mie ke lor enemis con-
tinuer lor fuir suz terre. Car en doble manere ovre souz ter- 5
re puet estre parfait, ou par hautesce des ewes ou par inon-
dacion.

L'em deit penser ke multitudine des archerz ne seit pas
74v. devant le bredasche e suspernent le mur / e esbaissent les
defendaunz ki seront encontre eus. E por ce deivent touz ki 10
sunt dedenz aver escuz o autres engins. Enaprès i avera
doble bretasche, e cointe haires seient tenduz ke receivent¹⁾
l'asaut des darz ou des seetes. Le launceor ne passe pas legere-
ment ke l'em le²⁾ tue ou fet floter. Por ce est un remedi
trové: ke il facent cleies de fustz e ke il les emplissent 15
des peres e ke il les meissent par art entre les deus bre-
tasches, ke si lor enemis montast par escheles, ke les peres
par engin faitez puissent chair sor lor testes.

1) After tenduz ke, hors prendrunt is expunctuated and
receivent added above.

2) le: written above the line.

Les maneres de defences.

Mout de maneres sunt de desfences e de assauz, ke nous
mosterom bien en covenable lius. Mes vous mosterom quantes
maneres sunt de asseger, com vostre adversaire en lius cove-
nables e ou aydes ordinez vous enclot de ewe ou vous espeire
de affamer e vous defent totes maneres de issues e de conduit 5
de quere vitaille. Par itel conseil celi ki est odis e seur
travaille son enemy. As queus aventures les possessors, mes
ke il seient travaillez par legier suspesion, il deivent met-
tre e garder lor vivre dedens les murs si ententivement ke il
75r./ eient sustance assez ke il pussent destreindre lor adver- 10
saires de mesaise. Non pas seulement pors mes tote manere de
bestes ke ne porront pas estre gardé enclos covient estre mis
au larder, ke les chars pussent aider a sustenance des blez.
Les oisels deivent estre norri dedenz les citez ke ne sunt
pas de grant coust e sunt necessaries por les malades. La vi- 15
aunde as chivals deit om nomeement assembler, e ceus ke ne
porront pas estre gardez deit om arder. L'em deit coillir vin
e eysil, e tote la plenté ke l'em puet de beivre, ke vient de
blé ou de pumes ou de autre manere de frut, nule chose ne
seit lassé as enemis de ce ke porra valer a soens. Car ausi 20
com l'em norrist en cortil¹⁾ totes maneres des choses, ausi
en meisons e en vertes places si com raison demande deit om
norir quant ke puet aver mester. Car poi vaut de coillir

1) norrist en cortil: norrist is expunctuated and ad cure*
added above; de* is added above the line after cortil.

granment ensemble si l'em nel sache sagement e tempreement garder;
jamés ne sunt perilez de feim ki sevent vivre par mesure e sanz
waust. En bataille l'em deit doner congé a ceus ke ne porront
aider de aler lor voie, ke les autres, ki sunt vailante gent
75v. des armes e deivent garder les chastels e les citez, / ne mor- 5
gent de meseise.

Le aparaillement de feu.

Il covient ke l'em aparaille dedenz piz e oile¹⁾ e feu gre-
geis e autres choses plusors a gitter hors e a arder, si mester
fust, les engins de lor enemis. E si covient k'il se porveient
ke il eient carbon e fer de chescune manere de tempreure de 10
fere armeure; e ke il eient fustz aparailé a faire lances a
mettre en fers e en seetes. E ke il eient ronz peres de ewes,
e ke il seient coillez ententivement, ke il seient plus cove-
nables a ceus ki les gitteront; e de ces peres deivent les murs
estre covert e les tours. Il deivent aver arblastes e fundes as 15
peres, e mangeneus a grosses peres por lancer e geter ou tre-
buche, non pas seulement a lor enemis mes a lor engins, ke
touz seient quassez. E si averont roes de vers arbres e de
granz arbres, e k'il seient bien planies ke il seient bien co-
rantes; car quant il vindrent si sodainement il esbairont e 20
esponteront les combatanz enemis. E si covient ke il eient
prest trefs e tables tresgrans a merveile e bien fermez de
clous de fer. Car om soleit contre ester as engins des combatans

1) A second e oile is expunctuated.

76r.par autres engins, nomeement quant il / furent ajostez a murs
ou a bretasches; car quant les engins furent adrecez haut, ke
il fussent plus halt¹⁾ il pristrent la cité e lor adversaires.

Des nerfs.

E mester est ke l'em coille grant plenté de nerfs, car il
i ad une manere de torment, com arc torkeis ou autres arblastes, 5
ke jamés ne vaudront si il ne seient bien garnis de cordes de
nerfs. Neporquant les couwes des chivals trenchez aydent mout
as plusors choses. E oncore ne est pas douté ke tresces de fem-
mes ne aident mult en plusors²⁾ bosoignes e plus ont de vertu;
e ce tesmonient les Romains. Car en le sege de Capitoile, quant 10
il furent longement travaillé par mutes maneres de tormens,
quant lor failloit plenté de nerfs les matrones³⁾ osterent lor
crins e lor tresses e les donerent a lor barons kant se comba-
toient, e il firent assaut e quasserent toz les engins de lor
adversaires. Car meus voleient les bones chastes dames en cel 15
tens vivre franchement o lor barons sanz chevoilz avoir ke
servir a lor enemis a grant honur ou o entere beauté. Ensement
corns ou quire ki seient cru fait bon a coillir a tenir ferm
76v.autre manere des armes e autres engins e / autres garnisons.

1) plus halt* : added above expunctuated aparent.

2) plusors : final -s added.

3) femmes is written above matrones.

Des fontaynes pardurables en citez.

Ce est mout grant profit en cité la ou il ont fontaynes
pardurables clos dedenz les murs. E si ce ne veut nature, i
covent ke l'em face puiz e fossez de mainte manere de parfon-
desse, a puisser ewe de nerfs ou de cordes. Mes neporquant
plusors lius sunt ou il i ad defaute de ewe, com en montaines 5
en terre perouse; la ou citez ou chasteus sunt fermez, e puis
al pé de la montaine trovent il veine de ewe, la covient ke
les eweors ki vont quere l'ewe seient defenduz a lor aler e a
lor venir des archers e des arblasters ki sunt dedenz la tour
ou dedens les bredasches. E si la veine del ewe seit plus 10
loins, ke il ne pussent lancer ne gitter, donc covient ke l'em
face en milu un petit chastelet ke il apelent purgum, e ke la
seient mis archers e arblastiers a defendre l'ewe des enemis.
Estre ce en touz communs edefices, ou en chastels ou en citez,
sunt cisternes ke reseivent ewe de plue e longement sunt du- 15
rables. Car ces ki sunt touz jours a us de estre assegé sunt
mout bien paieez quant il ont del ewe.

Si la cité seit pres de la marine e siel lor faille, il
77r. prendront la licour de la mer e le espaunderont par ves/sele-
menz, e par la grant chalour del solail si tornera en siel. E 20
si lor enemy la lor defende, si com avient, la gravele ke la
mer gitte suz par vent il la medleront ou ewe douce, la quele
quant ele est secke del solail jale plus tost por ce ke il ne
seit mué en siel.

En cest chapitre aprent li auctors ke est a faire quant
il viennent as murs al premer assaut. C'est un perilous assaut
quant ces des citez e de chastels se combatent ensemble; grant
peril i ad, mes greignor peril i est la ou senglantes batailles
sunt. Car ceus ki coveitent par aparaillement de traison escha- 5
per por doute de lor cors, par noyse de busines ou des homes;
donc la greignor pour destrut les nient costumez, car al pre-
mer assaut ce esbaissent les opidans s'il ne conoissent pas les
experimenz des blasmes; quant il ostent les escheles si est la
cité prise. Car si la premere envaie seit engité des chivalers ki 10
sunt bones genz e loiaus, a ceus ki sunt dedenz crest hardiesce;
e puis si est vencu ne mie par pour mes par force e par art.

La manere de combatre e de defendre.

Ore après si vous demosteroms coment on deit combatre ou
77v. defendre sei de plusors maneres / des armes ke il vous nomera
après, e coment il serront forgez e faits. 15

Une manere de arme ke il apelent testudo, de une matire
ou de tables faite: e ke il ne seit ars par feu il est covert
de quir ou de haire ou de autre chose. Iceste prent un tref de-
denz, ki est afichi devant de un crok de fer ke est apelé falx
por ce ke il est escourti devant, e estrait les peres du mur. 20
E a la fie le chef est vestu de fer e est apelé aries, ou ke
il eit trop dur front ke abat les murs, ou ke resortist arere

ke il le refere par assaut com desvé. Cel engin, ke est apelé testudine, si prist le noun de une beste ke touz jourz met sa teste avant e puis le retrait e est enclos; ausi fait cel engin -- a la fez gitte hors le chef e a la fiez retrait, ke il fierge plus forment.

5

De auncien engin.

Les aunciens firent jadis un engin ke estrange gent e ceus ki sunt ore si apelent caucias. Cel engin deit estre fait de legiers fusts .viii. pez de lé e .vii. pez de haut e de .xvi. pez de long. E par teu manere de engins ou peres e ou dars par assaut percerent il les murs. E dedenz esteient covert de quirs, de cedre e de autre chose¹⁾, ke il ne fussent arz. E 10
78r. quant / plusors furent faites de teus engins, il sunt joint ensemble par ordre, souz les queus ceus ki sistrent desuz furent enseur, e a graventer les murs aprocerent les foundemens. Il aveient un autre manere, ke sunt covert a semblance de junc 15
e de heires e de coreies de quir, e sunt defendu de treis roulles, des queus le un est en milu e les deus sunt as chefs, en quel part ke vous voderez, e ke om les puet mover par costume; e puis les plient as murs; e les defendours, ki bien sunt garnis e defendu de tel manere de arme, launcent e git- 20
tent de fondes e issi destorbent tous les bredasches de la cité, ke il eient plus legerement encheison de monter par escheles.

1) chose: final -se added above the line.

E puis un grant munces de tere e de fust est adressé encontre
le mur la ou il launcent les darz.

Uncore ont il uns autres engins mendres, dont les comba-
tours¹⁾ sunt defendu si tay de la cité vienge; en fossez il
aportent peres e fusts e terre e ne emplent pas seulement les 5
fossez mes le soudent ensemble ferm, ke la tour ke est alaunt
puisse joindre as murs. Il sunt apelez musches, après une bes-
te de la mer; car mes ke il seient petiz, neporquant il aident
78v. as greynours de la mer; / ausi iceus engins, mes ke il seient
petiz, si aident e aparailent voie a les granz tours, e gar- 10
nissent les chemins.

Tours apelent il un autre manere de engin ke est fait e
ordiné a semblance de une meison ou tables fait e, ke tant de
overaine ne seit ars par feu de lor enemis, ele est mout bien
garnie de quirs cruz ou de autre chose, a les queus por ma- 15
nere d'hautesce est ajoint laour. Car a la fie est quarré de
.xxx. pés, a la fez de .xl. ou de .l. de lé. E la hautesce de
eles est tant fet²⁾ haute ke ele ne sormonte pas seulement
les murs, mes fait les hautes tours de pere. E plusors tours
sunt ajoint tot par art e, par lor cors decorant, la grandesce, 20

1) combatours: final -s added.

2) fet: added above the line.

ke est¹⁾ large, se muet. C'est un grant peril a la cité si il
seit ajoint al mur tele tour, car il receit plusurs escheles
e par diverse maneres s'aforce de entrer enz. Car desuz a un
engin ke il apelent ariet, ki destruit les murs. Entour le mi-
lu si a un pont fait de .ii. trefs; quant il le lassent so- 5
deinement coler il le mettent entre le mur e la tour, e par ce
les entranz les combatanz passent; e agraventent les mur par
cel engin. E amunt en cele tour sunt mis archers e arblasters,
79r. ke sunt defendors de la cité, gittent de / haut e launcent
seetes e peres petiz e granz, e issi l'abatent. E quant si est 10
fait la cité est prise sanz demoree. Queu chose remaint de ai-
de, quant ceus ki sunt amount sus la tour e la hautesse du mur
esperoient soudeinement regarder²⁾ la hautesse de lor enemis?

Estre ce la partie du mur a la quele l'engin se force de
aprocher est fait plus haut des peres, ou de ciment, de morter, 15
e puis au derein de bones tables, ke il ne pussent agraventer
ceus ki sunt a venir les defendans ki defendent les murs des
citez. E si covient ke un greindre engin seit trové plus bas.
Veraiemment ceus ki assegerent en tele manere ajousterent par
costume traison. Car primes funt il une tour, ke est plus bas 20
ke ne est la bredasche de la cité; e dedenz funt une petite

1) est: expunctuated in the MS. and ad written above.

2) regarder: initial re- added above the line.

torele, e quant ceste torele est ajoinst as murs, par engin en mi l'autre tour des engins ke il ont fait des nerfs e des cordes ce estent en haut, e les armez ki sunt dedenz issint hors e, par ce ke ele est haute, pernent la cité.

E a la fie ont il trefs trop longs ferrez e les funt venir si pres ke ele est veisin al mur, e puis les boutent avant. E quant la cité est assailli de pres des enemis, e la tour ke 79v. est coraunte seit plus haute ke nul autre tour, ce fu / trové par grant art e engin teu remedie. E par nuit fuitent il suz le fondement del mur e a cel liu a le quel la tour fu ajousté 10 de jour, ke nul de lor enemis ne sache quant la terre serra bien crosé dedenz; e quant cele tour ke si est pesante od¹⁾ les roes e la grant charge vient al lu ke est cros e parfonde, ke le mur ne puet afondrer ne plus avant mover. E en tele manere est la cité delivré e les engins destruites. 15

E quant les tours sunt ostez, les archerz e les arblasters e les lingeors de lenges gittent e launcent seetes e peres e darz e de plomez, e remuent e ostent les genz des murs. E quant se est fet si mettent les escheles e pernent la cité. Mes ceus ki issi mettent escheles sovent soffrent grant peril, 20

1) od: final -d added above.

e ce poez veer par ensample de celui ki primes trova eschele,
ki fu occis par tant de force des Tebans ke l'em dist ke il fu
esteint¹⁾ de foudre. E por ce ceus ki furent entour le sege
perceront les murs de une manere de engin ke fu fait a la guise
de une harpe; car ausi com cordes sunt en la harpe, ausi en cel 5
tref ke est mis joust la tour sunt cordes par out le pont a-
80r.vale²⁾ de la partie desuz, / e tant tost issent de la tour les
combatanz e par taunt les trespasanz envaissent les murs de la
cité. Il i ad un autre engin ke il apelent ostra: c'est a dire
pont ke sodeinement avale de la tour e merveilousement. Car 10
quant le un chef leve en haut par le peis e l'autre descent a
terre par tel peis, si le un chet, le autre adresce. E le un
chef si est bien covert des tables e de claies, issi ke poi de
gent armez i porront estre; e quant l'autre chef se dresce e
leve en haut, si ad plus de nombre des armez. 15

Envers iteus choses si soleit om defendre des arcs e des
arblastes e des lenges e des autres armes ke il apelerent ba-
listes. Car com plus sunt long e grant de tant plus loins gittent
les dars; la quele si ele seit adreit tempree par art, e seit
haunté de gent ke sevent sa mesure e avant le eient, e bien 20
seit adrescé, ele passe par mi quant ke ele fier. Onagre ape-
lent il un autre engin ke gitte grosses peres e bien est atiré

1) MS. estreint: the r is expunctuated.

2) avale: a final -r is added above the line.

des nerfs; e com plus est large e grande, de plus loinz gitte
les grosses peres. Nul engin ne nul arme ke pusse mal faire
80v. n'est trové / pire de ses .ii. el mounde, les queus je vous
ai avant nomez. Scorpion apelent il une manere de arme dont
om occist mout de gent de petiz darz mout sotils. Arcs, arbles- 5
tes e lenges sunt bien conu en cest pais, por ce ne le veut il
pas descrivre. Mes ces .ii. engins, ke il dit devant, ke git-
tent les grosses peres, ne occist pas seulement homes e chi-
vals, mes destruent e depiessent touz les engins ke lor enemis
ont en le ost. 10

Cointise encontre engins.

Encontre les arietes ki touz jours boutent la teste avant
si unt il plusors remedies. Les uns pernent coutres e socs e
les destreynent¹⁾ bien de fortes cordes; e le mettent en tel
liu la où il quident ke le assaut serra, e receivent de ce lor
cops ke il ne destruent mie le mur. E autres pernent laz e li- 15
ent ensemble, e puis ou grant multitude de gent se fount co-
ler pres del mur en belif, e issi hapent cel engin ke il appe-
lent ariet e le retornent. E autres font une forcheure de fer
e de fortes cordes, e le lient bien ensemble; si l'apelent
lup, e o cel hapent il cel ariet. e issi le destorbent, ke il 20
n'ad poer de ferir le mur. E a la fez unt il pilers de marbre
81r. ke sunt gitté par / grant force des murs e depiecent cel engin.

1) destreynent: written above the MS. chauchent.

Ke si tant de force i seit ke le mur seit percé de cel engin,
ke avient sovent, ke li mur chiet, un autre mur seit dedenz
ajosté, ou lor enemis ki sunt dedenz serront pris e destruit.

Il i ad un autre manere de assaut ke est suz terre e pri-
vé, e foient suz terre e sunt mucé ausi com fussent leveres¹⁾. 5
E grant travail i mettent a fuir suz terre, ausi com il qui-
doient trover or ou argent, e font une grandisme fossé devant
la cité ke il voillent assailir, e font une voie. Ceste fraude
est overee par doubles aguaiz : ou entrent en la cité de nuit
par cele voie ke il unt fait e pernent ens compaignie a eus, 10
e entrent e issent quant il voillent, e issi destruent lor
enemis ens ke il s'en dounent garde; ou autre manere, quant il
vient al fondement des murs, s'enfuient une grant partie e
puis si pernent sekke busche e plusors autres choses ke ardent
bien; e quant les combatanz sunt aparailez de combatre, il met- 15
tent tantost le fu e ard, e issi ont il entree en la cité e
destruent quant ke il trovent.

81v. Mout soventefez pensent traison ceus ki sunt a siege / de
cité ou de chastel. Car par feinte desesperance se traient en
long, ausi com ç'il s'en vousissent aler, e puis s'en tornent 20
de nuiz e montent priveement o escheles. E por ce covient il

1) leveres : the second e is added above the line.

mettre mout bone garde des nuiz, ke sunt¹⁾ si lons. Ke les
gaites puissent aver aucun arblil a eus defendre de freid le
iver, e de solail e de chaud le esté.²⁾ Ensement deivent il no-
rir chiens, ke par lor abai poent om saver quant lor adver-
saire vient³⁾. E ensement l'em solait aver cocs e autre maneres 5
des oisels ke par lor cri demoströyent la venue de lor enemis.
Car Manilius, un grant seignor de Rome, ne ust jamés encontre
estu, quant une gent vindrent par grant art a Rome e voleient
aver destruit les Romains, ne fust le cri des oysels, par mer-
veillouse diligence, ke garderent veillant quant aventure 10
sorvint.

Non pas soulement en seges mes en chescune manere des
batailles sur totes choses soleit om espier la costume de son
enemi ententivement. Encontre les espies, jamés ne savez
bien la oportunité des agaiz si vous ne sachez avant conois- 15
82r. tre le quel seit plus nient quointe; / car a la fie a miedi,
e a la fie a vespres, e a la fie de nuit, e a la fie quant
l'em manjue, quant les chivalers del une part e del autre sunt
espars e alez por eus aeiser. E puis se sustraient en long de
la bataille, ke la negligéce de lor adversaires lor doinge 20
congé. E puis soudeinement, sans cele peine, pensent de remuer

1) sunt: e is added above the line after s, and the second
stave of u is expunctuated.

2) le esté: le is expunctuated in the MS.

3) vient: n is added above the line between i and e.

les engins e les escheles ajouster e issi prendre la cité. E
por ce deivent ceus ki sunt dedenz aver touz jours peres prest
sus les murs; de autres armes, ke quele gent ke viengent, ke
il ne conoissent pas; e a la main lasser avaler les peres sus
les chefs a lor enemis, ou de autre arme puissent lancer a eus. 5

Quant ¹⁾ negligence avient as parties ke sunt al sege, car
il avient ke il s'en departent par aucun ocasion, com de man-
ger ou de beivre ou de dormir ou k'il sunt udis, donc vient
sodeinement les opidans e destruent lor engins e les ardent e,
quant est fait e forgé dont overaine deivent faire, destruent. 10
Por ce ceus ki sunt al sege facent une fossé al get de un dart
e le garnissent bien, non pas soulement de haie ne de puz mes
82v. ensement de todeles, ke il puissent encontre ester / a eus ki
isteront hors de la cité. E c'est quant mester est si ont un
petit hauberjon, e sovent est descrit od sege, e trouvé est en 15
estoires ke la cité fu environee de cel hauberk.

C'est a saver ke dars e seetes e peres e plomez e launces
e tote manere de armes ke est gitté o lancé par main de home
chet plus morteument si il vient de haut. E les seetes ke sunt
trait hors des arcs, ou peres gitez hors des fondes, com de 20

1) Quant: final -t added above the line.

plus haut liu issent, plus parfondement percent. E les autres
deus engins qui passent touz autres engins, si il seient bien
adrecez e ententivement temprez de sage gent, il trenchent to-
tes choses ke il atteignent e mettent a nient; ne nul home,
tant seit combatant ne tant eit vertu, ne se puet de ces en- 5
gins defendre. Car, a la manere de foudre, quele chose ke il
ferent soleient tot desjoindre ou derumpre.

A prendre les murs de citez ou de chasteus valent mout
escheles ou autres engins, si il seient fait par tel grandesse,
ke il passent la hautesce des murs de la cité. Ou l'em puet me- 10
83r. surer / e coiller par .ii. manere: ou par une petite line ou
cordele e une lance ke porte sus le chef amont en haut, ou ke
il l'estende en long le mur, donc poez saver la hautesce; ou
par l'ombre du solail, ke vos adversaires nel sachent. De ce ne
doute nul home, ke par le ombre puet om saver la hautesce e de 15
tour e de mur. Les queus choses les autors del art de bataille
demonstrerent a asseger ou defendre chasteus ou citez, ou par
grant necessité fu trové e par us, si com je quid, de comun pro-
fit; ke ceus se puissent cointement eschure ki assaillent e ki
defendent ke quant defaute vient de manger ou de beivre, car a 20
tel mal ne vaut nul art. Por ce deit om estuer dedenz les murs
quant tens est, ke l'em puisse encontre ester a ceus dehors
par poesté.

(BOOK V)

Par vostre comandement, empereour nient vencu, puis ke je
ai conté des batailles champeles e terrestres par raison, si
com je quid, une porcion est uncore remis de batailles des
nefs; e por ce ceus ki jadis de estraunges nacions aveient
champele bataille e¹⁾ navelé, por ce sunt un poi des choses a 5
83v. dire / des batailles e des ars des nefes en mer ou en autres
ewes. Car le pople de Rome por honour e por profit e por lor
grant hauteesse, ne mie por nule necessité des sorvenans ne de
aucune noise ne apariloient donkes nefes mes, quant mester fust,
ke il fussent touz jours prest e aparailé. Car nul home n'ose 10
empetrer ne faire tort ne bataille en regne ne en pople ke il
conoissent ke est tous jours prest e apareilé a contre ester e
a sei venger. A Miserte e a Ravenne esturent mout des legions
e des nacions o lor nefes, ke il ne departissent loins de la
garde de la cité e, quant raison fust, ke il puissent aler par 15
navie sanz demure environ tot le monde. Car ceus de Miserte
aveient tote la navie de Espaine e de Maritane e de Affrike e
de Egipte e de Sardine e de Cicile en ayde. E ces de Ravenne
aveient Epire e Macedonie e Acaye e Crete e Cipre, e furent a-
costumé de adrescer²⁾ lor navie e aler par tot le monde, por ce 20
ke en batailles mult soleit plus profiter hastivesce ke vertu.

1) After bataille, a is expunctuated and e added above the line.

2) adrescer: -es- is added above.

E le provost des nefes de Miserte, ke furent en Campane,
84r. ala devaunt eus de Liburne; car ceus ki fu/rent assis en la
mer de Ioine partenoient a provost de la navie de Ravenne; sur
les queus furent .x. princes par les compaignies establiz. Les
autres de Liburne aveient autres navies, les queus mistrent 5
ententive cure e assiduele e noblesce. Estre autres offices e
governurs e chivalers furent.

Divers e plusors autres nacions e pais porroient mout
faire en mer en aucun tens, e por ce maneres de navies. Mes
quant Augustus Cesar fu en bataille ou les aydes de Liburne, 10
e ust esté vencu nomeement Atonie, par le experiment de si
grant estris donc aparust il ke la navie de Liburne meus apa-
rust des autres. E por ce les Romeins¹⁾ a la semblance de
cele navie coverirent lor nefes e retindrent a eus le noun.
Car Liburne si est une partie de Dalmace e susget a Diatesine 15
cité, par quel ensample les bons nefes a combatre ore sunt fait
e apelé de Liborne.

Mes si com en meisons deit om touz jours enquere e de-
mander ke il n'i eit defaute de pere ne de gravele quant la
meyson deit estre fait, ausi quant om deit faire nefes totes 20

1) Originally e por ce ceus les nouns de Rome; ceus and nouns
are expunctuated, as is de, to which a final s has been added.
-ins is written above the line after Rome.

84v. choses sunt a enquere e a garder ententivement ke / mester i
puissent aver, car greignor peril est en nef ke en meison e
plus de vice. De ciprés ou de pin de vile ou de boys e de abiet
nomeement feseiant ceus de Liburne lor nefes, e des clous de a-
reme les joindrent plus volentiers ke de clous de fer; car il 5
rogissent plus tost ces de fer¹⁾, e les clous de areme gardent
lor propre sustance en mer e en autre ewe.

Ce deit om nomeement garder, ke les arbres dount les nefes
de Liborne deivent estre fait seient coupez entre la .xv. lune
e .xxii. Ices .vii. jours deit om bien garder solom acarie a 10
couper la matire dount om fra les nefes, e si il sunt coupez en
les autres jours les verms les manjeront e torneront en poudre;
e ce dient ceus de la cité de Liborne e tesmoignent ke ces .vii.
jour soleit om touz jorz couper.

Car iceus trefs serront coupez profitablement après la 15
chalour²⁾ del solail en esté: ce est a dire après le meis de
julie e de aust, e par autompneles equinox deskes as kalendes
de genver. En icel meis quant crest la moistesce cum plus sunt
les fusts seks e plus unt de force. Ensement eschuer est ke
85r. les arbres ne seient maintenant degiteez / por sechir, ou quant 20

1) After fer, e roillente is expunctuated.

2) MS. chalous.

serront seks ke il ne seient pas mis maintenant en la nef; car
les arbres serront verts¹⁾ e devisez par tables doubles, e ke il
eient bon respit ke il seient seks. Car jameis quant il sunt
depaint e quant il sunt suez par le humour de la nef il se
traient ensemble e font lor crevaz²⁾ plus lez; car nule chose 5
ne est plus perilouz as mariners.

Ore rehercerai je ce ke apartient a la grandesce de li-
burne. Il ount touz les ordres de covenable mesure, un poi
plus granz, e dobbles e trebles, ki ne pernent mie a la fie
le governail de degré. Ne celes ne sunt pas veu de estre lé 10
des avancés³⁾. Quant il furent bien loins en bataille, donc
dit om ke il encourerent greignor navie ke furent outre ordre.
E neporquant il se sunt acompaignés as greignors nefes de Li-
burne, mes ce fu en traison, e aveient lor gouvernails pres de
illuc veisins en totes parties, les queus les Bretouns ape- 15
lent depaintes. E par iceles puet om entreprendre a la fie
les sorvenues e les conduiz des estranges nefes; e donc soleit
85v. lor venue estre aparceu / par estudie de treere des darz de⁴⁾
lor venue en lor conseil. E neporquant ke les nefes ne fussent
aparceu tost trecherousement, par une colour sunt il atteint 20
en les ewes; e par les cordes des autres chousez colourent il

1) MS. veits.

2) cerches is crossed out and crevaz written above.

3) MS. aiancuni(?): -uni is expunctuated and es added above.

4) de : added above the line.

lor nefs. E les notiners e les chivalers vestent une vesture;
ne mie soulement de nuit mes ensement de jour le puissez es-
pier plus legerement¹⁾.

Quicumques ameine ost de gent armez par navie, il doit
avant conoistre les signes. Car les liburneis perirent plus 5
grevement soventefois par tempestes e par ewes ke par meins
de lor enemis, en la quele partie de naturele philosophie to-
te la cointise est a joster, por ce ke nature est coilli en-
semble par celestiene reyson de venz e de tempestes²⁾. E por
la cruauté de la mer, car com cautele defent e garantist les 10
judeis, en tele manere tort esteint les pereçous. E por ce le
art de nature doit primes regarder le nombre des vens e les
nouns. La aunciene gent solonc le ordeinement tant soulement
creoient quatre venz principaus soffler en totes les parties
du ciel, mes par experimenz de la dereiner age comprent. / 15
86r. E a oster doute les nouns de dusse non pas soulement en grui
mes ensement en latin ad il avant tuché.

De tuz ces venz soventefez en granz tempestes soleient
.ii. ou treis soffler ensemble. Par sofflement de ces venz
les mers, ki sunt paisibles par lor voil e deboneires, par 20

1) plus legerement: added (by a second hand?)

2) MS. tempestestes

les undes estrivanz se desvient¹⁾; par sofflement de ceus por
nature de tens ou de²⁾ lius des tempestes est rendu clarté.

86v. Car en le secund soffle/ment trovera la nef port ke il desire;
ou a force est destreint de retorner arere e soffrir grant pe- 5
ril. E por ce grant peril soffri celui ki ententivement regar-
da la raison des venz.

Ore vous dirom les traitiz³⁾ des meis e des jours. Mes
les uns meis sunt covenables e les autres dotous e les autres
nient traitables par lei de nature. Des le sisme jour des ka-
lendes de octobre seure navire est dit estre, por ce ke la 10
cruelté des venz est assuagé par le benefice de esté; après
tel tens dreske al derein ide de novembre nient certain est
navire e pres de grant peril, por ce ke après les ides de sep-
tembre nest un esteile tres desvé⁴⁾ ke est apelé Arcturus, e
al utisme⁵⁾ kalende de octobre, quant les nuiz sunt ovest, 15
donc vient un tresgrant tempeste. En le meis de novembre sunt
les navires destorbez par soveneres tempestes de la vigile de
nowel. Drekes al tiers jour des ides de marz sunt les mers
closes. Car poi i ad de lumere, e les nuiz sunt longes, e le

1) desvient: the i is added above the line.

2) MS. des: final -s expunctuated.

3) traitiz: the second t is expunctuated.

4) grande* is added above desvé, which is expunctuated in the MS.

5) MS. usisme

eir si est espés¹⁾, e doble tormens avienent en la mer, non pas
soulement as nefs ke sunt en la mer, mes ensement a ceus ki
deivent combatre a terre, e destorbe lor vivre. E après le no-
87r. wel, si je le ose dire, / deske al premer yde de may sunt les
mers assaiez mout perilous, e por ce est il celebré; ke om 5
n'i entre por les autes festes e por estrif ke est avenu de
mout de genz, e par la raison de plusors esteilles ke sunt en
cel tens. Ne mie por queu tens la troblesce de bosoignes ne
cessera, mes por ce ke greignor cautele est a joster quant
l'ost nage ou les liburneis ke quant la hardiesce de estran- 10
ges meis cesse.

Estre ce la deverie des autres esteiles e la neissance
commuet les tempestes; en les queus²⁾ mes ke certain jours
seient merchez par tesmoyne des autors, e nequedent, por ce
ke par divers cas aucunes choses sunt muez e ke nous devom 15
regeir celestienes causes, humeine condicion le conoist bien
a plein. Por ce devisent il la cure garder de³⁾ la navire en
treis maneres: ou ce serra entour jour establi ou devant ou
après ke tempeste serra. Mes totes choses serreit long de
nombrer par noun, quant plusors auctors distrent espressement 20
e ententivement la raison non pas des meis soulement mes en-
sement des jours. E les corirs des esteilles ke il apelerent

1) espés: another s is added above the line between s and p.

2) A second en les queus is expunctuated.

3) de, before garder, is expunctuated, and a further de is written above the line after garder.

planez soventefez soleient destorber les clartez, o l'avant
87v. escrit / cours del jour; e par le jugement del Creatur recei-
vent il les signes ou deguerpissent. Car entre autres jours --
usuele chose est e commune chose nomeement a doter -- sunt
plain de tempestes as mariners.

5

Car par nuls signes ne sunt demostré tempestes de estre
en peis ou non. Car ausi com rouge colour e la rondesce de la
lune ke vous regardez e cercle de venz demostre plues estre
mellez de totes pars, e les tempestes devantes, par la clarté
del monde¹⁾ promet as mariners clarté. Car le solail neissant 10
ou le jour creissant est a demander si il est a diversifier,
si il deit joir del un e del autre; quant la nue est osté de
rays del solail, ou quant le solail resplent par sa resplen-
dissor acostumé, ou si le vent seit rouge ke palu ou plue
serra, si le vent seit techelé. Car le vent e la mer e la gran- 15
desce des nues aprent les notiners les curieuses especes. A
la fie sevent il par les oysels e a la fie par les peissons,
si cum Virgile dit en Georgikes de divinité -- tot comprennent
il par engin -- e conte; en ces livres ke il fist de navie en-
tentivement le cotefie. Si governors des nefes quident ke ce 20
lor veut profiter de saver, ke il seient les plus sages par
us, nul plus haute doctrine n'est confermé. /

1) After munde, e is expunctuated.

88r. Reelement de la mer est la tierce partie del mond, quele
est torné par sofflement des venz e par son movement e soffle-
ment. Car en certaines houres de nuit e de jour par une cha-
lour ke il apelent reuma court outre son merk e, ausi com le
flume ke court, chet en terre e ne recourt pas en sa hautesce. 5
Iceste doute seconde aide les issues e les cours de la nef; e
retarde¹⁾ a la fie, ke ceus ki sunt a combatre deivent²⁾ es-
chuire par grant cautele. Car l'assaut de cel signe n'est pas
vencu par la force des avirons, a ki le vent doune a la fie
lu; e icestes choses sunt variés en divers regions diverse- 10
ment par la lune cressant e amenusant, e si sunt varieez par
estat de certaines hores; por ce bataille navele ke est a fai-
re deit om conoistre avant le envaie e la costume de la mer.

La cointise des sages governors est ke il sachent conois-
tre les lius e les havenes en les queus il deit nager, ke il 15
sache bien si il seient waiouses ou seckes ou corrant; car
quant mer est plus haute, de tant i ad greignor seurté. En
mariners deit estre diligence, en governours deit estre saver;
en notiners est vertu eslu, e por ce ke bataille navaille est
88v. / en la mer, e grant pesantisme des liburneis, ne mie par sof- 20
flement des venz mes par deboutemenz des avirons fiert ces

1) After retarde, e is added above the line.

2) MS. de deivent

adversaires, e derichef eschiwent lor assaut, pa lor beks; en
quel overaigne le gouvernement e art des clous done victorie
par le mestre ki bien gouverne bataille terrestre.

Bataille terrestre si desire mout de maneres des armes;
mes bataille navele non pas soulement demande plusor maneres 5
des armes, mes veraïement engins e tormenz, ausi¹⁾ com si
l'em dust combatre en murs ou en tours. E queu chose est plus
cruel ke ne est assaut en nef, ou homes sunt destruit par ewes
e par flaume de feu? Por ce la cure de tel gouvernement deit es-
tre covenable; e ke les chivalers seient bien garniz de cate- 10
fractes e de haubercs e de heaumes e de huses de fer e de mout
de autres armes. Nul home ki combatre en nef ne se puet plain-
dre de trop de charge de armes; por ce deivent il prendre la-
ens fors escuz por les granz cops des peres, e plus larges por
autre manere de armeure; e si deivent aver dars e seetes, e 15
lances a lancer, e peres a gitter e, ke plus est grevouse cho-
89r. se, quant les liburneis s'en sunt alez, il gittent hors / lor
pont e vont en la nef de lor adversaires e illuc se combatent
de plus pres main a mein ou lor espeies. E en les greignors
nefs de Liburne la font il bretasches e tours e se defendent 20
de haut, ausi com fust de une tour ou de un mur, e plaient e

1) ausi: the final syllable -si is added above the line after au.

tuent de plus leger les genz de lor engins. E issi destruent
lor enemis e les ardent de oile e de piz e de feu gregeis e de
bitume e de souffre e de plusors autres maneres; e les seetes
ardantes lancent hors en la nef de lor enemis, e sunt oint de
cire e de piz, e de norissement de feu les alument sodeinement. 5
E les uns sunt morz par fer e par ardour de roche, e puis sunt
gitté en la mer, entre tant de maneres des mors, ke est trop
cruel cas; e illoke sunt cors gitez as peissons a manger sanz
autre sepulture.

A la manere de bataille terrestre sorvenue lor vient 10
dout les notiners ne sevent mot; ou il sunt mis entour les
covenables destresces des yles por aguaiter. Ce ke est fait,
ke il sunt comaundez ke il s'en voient hastivement, si les
nefs des enemis seient lassez par long governail, ou si il
seient constreint de vent, ou si cest signe reume seit por 15
nous encontre eus, ou si il sunt endormi ou nient ne soschent
89v. de ce ke est a venir, / e puis ne ount il pas dout il peusent
combatre, si par fortune noun ou des benefices ke en viennent
des sorvenanz; e covient de necessité ke il se combatent. E
si la cautele des enemis eschuie les aguais e combate par com- 20
mune bataille, donc deivent les liburneis aprendre lor com-
paignons ke il ne se combatent mie adresceement com en champ
mes en belif a semblance de la lune. Issi ke quant il ad mis

avant ces corns, ke la meene compaignie le sache, ke si lor adversaires voillent avant venir e assaient, ke il seient environnez e destruit par mesmes cel ordeinement.

Estre ce profitable chose est ke la navie use touz jours de estre fraunchement en haute mer, car donc porront il par bataille deboter lor enemis a terre e a la rive. En teu manere de estrif aident mout a victorie treis maneres des armes: asseres e falces e un engin ou .ii. pennes. Ce ke il apelent assier est dit assemblant de ce ke pent en le mast de la nef com fust en tref sotil e long, bien garni de fer a l'un e l'autre chef. E deboutent a force les nefs, com fait le ariet ou la teste devant; por ce ke il destruit sanz doute les comba- 5
90r. tanz e agravente, e les nefs des enemis / mout sovent perce. Falx si est apelé un fer ki est mout tres agu e court ou longs croks; e quant se demostre ou ces cordes dont il est lié e 15
puis le lest trebucher sodeinement e detrenche quant que atteint. Bipennis est un arme com une coigne, ke ad de une part e de autre trenchant fer mout tres lé e tres agu. Les sages chivalers ki combatent en nef usent de cel arme chescun jour.

PART III

NOTES AND

GLOSSARY

CRITICAL NOTES

In the introductory chapter-lists on pp. 1-3 of the text the original Latin titles generally undergo some transformation. To facilitate comparison I print the Latin headings to each chapter as part of the critical apparatus. References to the Latin text are based on Lang's standard edition. Where I wish to differentiate between Lang and the Latin text of the Fitzwilliam Vegetius, I write L.V. or F.V. In the Latin quotations words enclosed in square brackets indicate forms found specifically in the Fitzwilliam Vegetius, whereas parentheses indicate that a word or words found in Lang are omitted in the Fitzwilliam text. Variants in the latter are quoted only where they are likely to have any bearing on the translation.

Chapter-lists and Title.

2,1. The heading to Ch.25 of the original, Quemadmodum munienda sint castra, cum hostis imineat, is omitted. The lacuna may be filled by reference to p.28 of the text, which gives the title Autre manere de garnisement. There are in fact twenty-eight chapters in Book I, compared with the twenty-seven listed here.

2,4. Instituta maiorum; the opening words of the Latin Preface to Book II become the title of a chapter in the Fitzwilliam text.

2,11. Les offices des princes e des governurs. Chapters 7 and 8 of the original (Nomina et gradus principiorum legionis and Nomina eorum, qui antiquos ordines ducebant) are run together in both the French and Latin texts of the F.V. The Latin has a small capital, Vetus, in the middle of a line of text (fol.106r.) as an indication of the original division.

2,16. Des compaynies de gent a pé. Chapters 13 and 14 of the original (De centuriis atque vexillis peditum and De turmis equitum legionariorum) are run together in both the French and Latin texts of the F.V.

The translation omits the following summary of contents which heads the Latin original :

Primus liber electionem edocet iuniorum, ex quibus locis uel quales milites probandi sint aut quibus armorum exercitiis imbuendi.
Secundus liber ueteris militiae continet morem, ad quem pedestris institui possit exercitus. Tertius liber omnia artium genera, quae

terrestri proelio necessaria uidentur, exponit. Quartus liber uniuersas machinas, quibus uel obpugnantur ciuitates uel defenduntur, enumerat; naualis quoque belli praecepta subnectit.

In omni autem proelio non tam multitudo et uirtus indocta quam ars et exercitium solent praestare uictoriam.

BOOK I

3,5. Vegece le philosophe de Rome. The qualification is somewhat grandiose in the light of Vegetius' own admission that for his compilation nec uerborum concinnitas sit necessaria nec acumen ingenii, sed labor diligens ac fidelis.(L.V., p.5,1)

al emperere Trajan. The De re militari could not have been dedicated to the much earlier Trajan, who reigned from 98-117, and to whom Vegetius in fact acknowledges a debt (11,16). Perhaps it is a misreading for an abbreviated form of ad Theodosium, which appears in some manuscripts (cf. Lang, p.XI). There is no corresponding reference to either Trajan or Theodosius at the beginning of the Latin text of the F.V.

3,17. Issi cunte li auctor, etc. It is a pity that the remainder of the Preface has been ignored by the translator, for although it conventionally flatters the Emperor, to whom it is addressed, at the same time it does allow the author to explain briefly his reasons for writing the book and to admit that it is largely a compilation from ancient military writers. The omission is, however, quite evidently a conscientious one, the translator

genuinely believing that no-one will be interested in what he considers to be a mere hymn of praise to an emperor of little consequence to the thirteenth century. In other cases such gaps in his text usually stem from the inadequacy of his own mental documentation.

I.1. Romanos omnes gentes sola armorum exercitatione uicisse.

4,2. par usage de armes e par mestrie de ost e par us de chevalerie : armorum exercitio, disciplina castrorum usuque militiae.

4,5. ceo est a dire...al Port d'Espayne. Translator's addition. From the context, Monju (Montjoie? Montjoux?), possibly Mont-Jovet in the Savoy Alps, should be located somewhere in the S.E. of the Gallic peninsula. Alternatively, the reference may be to the great mountain fortress of Joux, further north in the Jura.

4,8. e de breve estatute. Translator's addition.

4,24. E pur ceo...desusee de armes. Here we are given an immediate insight into the cause and intended effect of Vegetius' treatise. The military forces at Rome's disposal are small when compared to the enormous manpower which the barbarians can draw upon. So much the more important, then, that these numerically weaker forces be strictly disciplined and constantly exercised, the better to counterbalance the ever-present threat offered by the rudis et indocta multitudo (desusee de armes is an inadequate translation) which the barbarians represent.

5,1. kar les uns...receyvre la mort. Translator's addition.

I.2. Ex quibus regionibus tirones legendi sint.

5,6. Les vassaus e les jovençaus translates tirones; similarly 5,17.

5,9. la contree du ciel : plaga caeli (lit. "region of heaven", i.e. "climate"). "and the climate, more so in one region than in another, plays an important part in both strength of body and of mind". Some of the conclusions Vegetius draws in this chapter may be questioned. Turpin de Crissé (Commentaires sur les Institutions Militaires de Végèce, Second edition, Paris 1783, I,11.) suggests first that the climate of a particular country is in fact useless as a guide when it comes to the raising of levies for an army, secondly that the same amount of blood circulates in the veins of the Northman as in those of the southerner, and thirdly that experience seems to show that the northerner is reflective where the southerner tends to be impetuous. These reasonable conclusions directly contradict the assertions of Vegetius.

plus en un leu ke en autre. The original continues quo loco ea, quae a doctissimis hominibus conprobata sunt, non omittamus; which the translator omits!

5,11. al orient e al soleil. The original continues nimio calore siocatas, Vegetius inferring that the blood of meridional peoples dries up more easily in the sun and great heat. al orient is added by the translator, and may perhaps be regarded as an oblique reference to his own experience of eastern climates, either in Acre or some other part of the Holy Land.

5,22. en ost : in castris. cf. 4,2 note. ost used in the sense "camp" is fairly common in Old French.

I.3. Utrum ex agris an ex urbibus utiliores sint tirones.

6,2. vassaus translates the original tiro. Terms of chivalry are constantly superimposed upon the text which of course treats of a conventional Roman-style army (cf. L. Thorpe, "Mastre Richard, etc." Scriptorium VI (1952), p.44).

6,4. pur ce ke il sunt nurri en travail acustumé : quae sub diuo et in labore nutritur [que sub tedio et in laboribus enutritur].

6,8. e les poet om paier de pou. The original has simply paruo contenta.

6,11. Ore dit li auctor ici. The translator often takes pains not to identify himself too closely with the author, with the result that this sort of 'reported speech' is quite common throughout the text, occurring notably at the beginning of many chapters.

6,12. mes ce pur bosoing. i.e. "this being a necessity".

6,13. corre : decurrere ("to manoeuvre"). Phillips has "to march in ranks".

6,15. askune foiz gisir en mi les champs tut descovert : interdum sub diuo interdum sub papilionibus commorentur [interdum sub oliuo et sub papilionibus commorantur]. tut descovert. "in the open".

6,16. E avant ke il seient...od lur compainuns : si longior expeditio emergit, in agrariis [angariis] plurimum detinendi sunt proculque habendi a ciuitatis inlecebris. The original continues

ut eo modo et corporibus eorum robur accedat et animis; this is not translated.

6,19. Kar puis ke la cité...cum li citeins : Nec infitiandum est post urbem conditam Romanos ex ciuitate profectos semper ad bellum; sed tunc nullis deliciis nullis uoluptatibus nullis deliciis frangebantur, sudorem cursu et campestri exercitio collectum iuuentus natans abluebat in Tiberi idem bellator, idem agricola, genera tantum mutabat armorum; quod usque adeo uerum est, ut aranti Quinctio Cincinnato [Quincio Concinnato] dictaturam constet oblatam. In the earliest days of Rome the armies were largely drawn from the city itself, and Vegetius implies that the soldiers of that time had not yet become pampered; they were accustomed to baingner en la rivere, and not en ewe chaude (6,6). The reference to Quinctius Cincinnatus, who was following the plough when offered the dictatorship, proves too obscure for the translator, who omits it altogether.

As a postscript to this chapter, attention may be drawn to the work of a team of sociologists and psychiatrists who spent a period of eight years in examining cases of mental breakdown in soldiers of the American army of today, and who published their findings in a three-volume report entitled The Ineffective Soldier (Columbia University, 1959). I understand that, according to this report, men from farm areas apparently made a worse showing than those from the cities, with higher rejection rates, higher breakdown rates, and lower recovery rates after the last war. Men with

only elementary schooling or little education had an "ineffectiveness rate" four times greater than that of men with high school or college education behind them. The modern army apparently demands qualities different from those required by Vegetius of his troops.

I.4. Cuius aetatis tirones probandi sint.

7,5. kant que la barbe lur començast a poindre : incipientem pubertatem.

7,9. la legiaunce de chevalerie : militaris alacritas. Evidently a miscopying for l'alegrance, -aunce, s.f. alacritas; ("youthful liveliness, eagerness").

7,12. si com nus dit Salustius li phylosophes : sicut ait Sallustius: Iam simul ac iuventus belli patiens erat, in castris per laborem usum militiae discebat. This is in fact what Sallust says, according to the original Latin. It is however omitted in the translation, which instead ascribes to Sallust Vegetius' next sentence: Melius enim est, ut exercitatus iuuenis causetur aetatem nondum aduenisse pugnandi, quam doleat praeterisse. The translator adapts this, to some effect, into a piece of direct speech.

7,17. ja çoit ce...grant targe. "whether it be the archer with his crossbow, either on horse or on foot, or the infantryman with his large shield".

7,20. ne ke il ne enpeche mie ces compaignuns : ne ordines turbet.

7,23. eschuer les dars...de torz e de travers : obliquis ictibus uenientia tela deflectere. What the translation fails to convey is that the soldier should learn to deflect oncoming missile weapons with his shield, so avoiding the full force of a direct hit. The translator seems to merely counsel dodging such missiles.

I.5. Qua statura iuniores probandi sint.

Some two-thirds of the original chapter is omitted by the translator, although the F.V. Latin text is complete. Vegetius explains the qualifications in height (six Roman feet, i.e. a minimum of five feet ten inches) which the ancients require for the most important bodies of troops, such as the cavalry wings and first cohorts. The army cannot however afford to be so demanding now, and soldierly qualities such as courage and strength are preferable. Vegetius refers to Homer, where Tideus' slight stature is acknowledged to be amply compensated by his strength.

I.6. Ex uultu et positione corporis agnosci in eligendo qui meliores possint esse tirones.

8,16. e les autres bestes. Translator's addition (perhaps a reference to the 'bees' of Virgil: see below).

8,17. par la forme de lor membres. They may well be judged "by the form of their limbs", although this rather narrows the scope of the original multis...indiciis, "by many signs". The Latin

text continues with a reference to Virgil which the translator ignores: quod etiam in apibus Mantuanus [Virgilius] auctor dicit esse seruandum

'Nam duo sunt genera, hic melior, insignis et ore
Et rutilis clarus squamis [claruscanus], ille horridus alter
Desidia latamque trahens inglorius aluum.'

8,17. Dount il covent...bien fait de touz membres : Sit ergo
adulescens Martio operi deputandus uigilantibus oculis, erecta
ceruice, lato pectore, umeris musculosis, ualentibus brachiis,
digitis longioribus, uentre modicus, exilior clunibus [dunibus;
(in the margin) uel cluribus], suris [suis] et pedibus non superflua
carne distentis, sed neruorum duritia collectis.

(8,19) ne mie com hom endormi. Translator's addition.

(8,21) bien fait de tuz membres is an unhappy contraction for the
passage digitis longioribus...distentis.

This is one of the better-known passages from Vegetius,
which gained some currency in the Middle Ages (cf. Introduction,
p.22). Turpin de Crissé, in his Commentaires (2nd edition, p.50),
warned however against judging merely by appearances. Vegetius
should have emphasised that moral qualities are equally to be sought
in the new recruit, an imposing physique being of less consequence.

I.7. Cuius artis tirones uel eligendi sint uel respuendi.

9,5. ke om doit eslire...en bataille : Piscatores aucupes dulciarios
linteones omnesque, qui aliquid tractasse uidebuntur ad gynaecea

[ad genera] pertinens, longe arbitror pellendos a castris; fabros ferrarios carpentarios, macellarios et ceruorum aprorumque uenatores conuenit sociare militiae.

(9,7) tot soient il bien formé ausi com devant est dit. Translator's addition.

9,11. E en ce fu le fundement...de tot le monde : Et hoc est in quo totius reipublicae salus uertitur, ut tirones non tantum corporibus sed etiam animis praestantissimi diligentur; uires regni et Romani nominis fundamentum in prima dilectus examinatione consistunt. A following reference to the care taken by Sertorius in the selection of recruits is ignored by the translator.

9,14. la bachelerie : iuuentus.

9,18. kar les nobles homes...autres. Translator's addition.

Continue: "for when a sense of honour turns a man from flight, it brings victory".

10,2. totes les feiez...ki n'esteient pas dignes : dum longa pax militem incuriosius legit, dum [in] honestiores quique ciuilia secantur officia, dum indicti possessoribus tirones per gratiam aut dissimulationem probantium tales sociantur armis, quales domini (habere) fastidiunt.

(10,5) Kar ascune foiz, etc. "For sometimes those who elected and tested the new recruits included, by indulgence or negligence, those who had been turned down (i.e. elsewhere) or who were unworthy; and because of this the army suffered". e por ce mescheeit is the translator's own conclusion.

I.8. Quando tirones signandi sint.

11,3. Kar ces ki escristrent...savoient : Sed illi res gestas et euentus tantum scripsere bellorum, ista, quae nunc quaerimus, tamquam nota linquentes. What the translation fails to make clear is that although these same gestes and aventures de batailles were familiar enough to the ancients, many of the methods or tactics used are already no longer familiar to the soldier of Vegetius' day. And unfortunately, because of their essential familiarity in the past, these methods were not described by earlier historians who, after all, were interested only in the end-product - the large-scale battle and its result.

11,11. ce ki Caton, etc. Here are main sources of Vegetius. Cato the Elder, or 'the Censor', had a military career, engaging on several campaigns, notably in N. Africa, Sardinia, Spain and Syria, before becoming Censor in 184 B.C. His accounts of certain of these campaigns have not been preserved to us; unlike Vegetius' treatise they would have been born of hard military experience. Little is known of the life of Cornelium Celsus. He probably wrote during the reign of Tiberius, and was the author of an encyclopaedia which included, among other things, a (lost) military treatise. The Stratagematicon libri III of Sextus Iulius Frontinus (30/40-103) is a collection of military stratagems from Greek and Roman history, although it is his own De re militari, unfortunately not preserved to us, which must have yielded material to Vegetius. Similarly Tarrutenius Paternus, a high-ranking officer in the Roman army

during the reign of Marcus Aurelius, has left no military writings to present-day posterity, although they were still accessible to Vegetius. Paternus died in 183, and is therefore the latest of those sources quoted by Vegetius. Ne je ne sui pas auctor de ces choses, on line 17, is an open admission of plagiarism, which Vegetius to his credit takes no pains to disguise.

11,15. les queus choses...Adrian : quae Augusti et Traiani Hadrianique constitutionibus cauta sunt.

I.9. Ad gradum militare et cursum et saltum exercendos tirones.

12,8. Le eirre de chivalerie...si il ne corrust : Militari ergo gradu XX milia passuum horis quinque dumtaxat aestiuis conficienda sunt. Pleno autem gradu, qui citatior est, totidem horis XXIIII (milia) peragenda sunt. Quicquid addideris, iam cursus est, cuius spatium non potest definiri. For the original XX the translator appears to have read XXIIII, with the result that he fails to differentiate li premer degré en eirre and that faster pace ke est apelé pleineirre. In fact in good summer weather the soldier should be able to cover 20,000 paces in five hours at the usual marching rate, and 24,000 paces in the same time at a quick march.

(12,10) Ce sunt vint e quatre miles de Lumbardie...auncianement.

This surprise piece of information suggests that the translator may consider the rate to be rather high for the modern soldier; the open plain of Lombardy would perhaps offer more favourable conditions for marching at a comparatively swift rate.

12,14. E cist secund degré, etc. "And this second rate of marching is swifter than the first, since if one should wish to move any faster, one would not be able to do so except by running".

12,16. Les menors e les plus jofnes...kant il s'enfuierunt.

"The younger and the youngest soldiers should practise running, the better to charge at their enemy, and so that they may whenever necessary occupy suitable positions and defiles in advance; or, should the enemy desire to capture such defiles, that they might beat them to it; or so that they may with speed and spirit go out to spy on the enemy and may with equal spirit return; or so that they may the more easily catch the rearguard of a fleeing enemy".

13,3. li vassaus : bellator

le cours e le saut. "running and jumping".

13,6. Dunt Salustes conte...a un tinel : De exercitio (Gnei)

Pompei Magni Sallustius memorat 'cum alacribus saltu, cum uelocibus cursu, cum ualidis uecte certabat'. "Sallust writes of this in his book, saying that in battle Pompey the Great would often charge at his enemies in the same way as his men charged; he would run with those who ran, and would fight with a club together with the infantry who were fighting a standing battle". The translator evidently tries to see too much in the Latin, for which Ulysse Robert offers a concise translation : "Il l'emportait sur les lestes au saut, sur les agiles à la course, sur les forts à la massue" (L'Art de chevalerie, p.17, note 5).

13,10. Ne autrement...batailles : Neque enim ille aliter potuisset par esse Sertorio [certorio]. This is the second time a reference to Sertorius is avoided (cf. 9,11 note).

13,12. acostumé d'armes a porter teu feis : praeparasset ad proelia.

I.10. Ad usum natandi exercendos tirones.

13,18. par out grant peril...s'il ne sache noer : ignorantia non solum ab hoste, sed etiam ab ipsis aquis discrimen incurrit.

The translation fails to adequately indicate the increased danger that lies in being trapped between a swollen river and an enemy force.

13,22. le champ de bataille : campum Martium. Understand "training ground".

14,2. Ne mie soulement...les chivals : Non solum autem pedites sed et equites ipsosque equos uel lixas [sed etiam equites ipsos uellixas] , quos galiarios uocant, ad natandum exercere percommodum est.

I.11. Quemadmodum ad scuta uimineae uel ad palos antiqui exercebant tirones.

14,8. les juvenes chivalers...charge de cleie : Scuta de uimine in modum cratium conrotundata texebant, ita ut duplum pondus cratis haberet, quam scutum publicum habere consuevit. The sense is: "the recruits protected themselves with round shields of both fine and supple osiers in the manner of wicker-work, so that the shield they normally used would have double the weight of wicker". This is

inaccurate; it is in fact the training-shields which should be twice as heavy as those normally used in battle. This is made more clear at the end of the next chapter.

14,15. non pas solement as chivalers mes ensement a esquiers : non solum militibus sed etiam gladiatoribus. The substitution of esquiers for Vegetius' gladiators makes it difficult to see the relationship of this sentence to the following Nec unquam aut harena aut campus inuictum armis uirum probauit, and the breach is widened by gravele for harena ("the Circus, arena"). "Nor did ever shore or field really put to the test an unbeaten man, unless he were thoroughly versed in exercise at the post" is perhaps the best reading, although the sense still remains obscure.

14,20. issi ke il nes peussent...par pez : ita ut nutare [notare] non possent et sex [vi] pedibus eminent. The misreading ui (abl. sing. of uis, "force") for vi (sex) necessitates the interpretation "so that they (the recruits) could not move them, and so that they (the stakes) could only be uprooted by great force".

15,5. e escoteit cum l'asaudreit, etc. : recederet adsultaret [ascultaret] insiliret. "and slashed as if attacking it in the same way as if his enemy were there in person".

15,6. par chescun engin : omni impetu.

15,7. En quel penser translates the Latin in qua meditatione ("in which exercise").

I.12. Non caesim sed punctim ferire docendos tirones

15,14. E les Romains...faire veintre : Nam caesim pugnantes non solum facile uicere sed etiam derisere Romani. "And the Romans mocked those who fought by slashing and who thus could not bring about an easy victory".

15,16. de quele manere k'il vienge : quouis impetu ueniat.

15,19. quant si est parfond : quicquid inmergitur. "when it is of such a length".

16,2. ke tele cleie...plus egrement combatereit : dupli autem ponderis illa cratis et claua ideo dabantur, ut, cum [tum] uera et leuiores tiro arma sumpsisset, uelut grauiore pondere liberatus securior alacriorque pugnaret. "Such wicker shields and heavy staffs were given to the recruits that they took up real, lighter arms as if they were much heavier (i.e. expecting them to be much heavier); so that the recruit acts more surely in battle and fights with greater vigour".

I.13. Armaturam docendos tirones.

16,7. armeure. "the use of arms".

Estre ce...de la partie : Praeterea illo exercitii genere, quod armaturam uocant et a campidoctoribus traditur, inuendus est tiro; qui usus uel ex parte seruatur. "Furthermore that kind of exercise which is called 'armeure' and which the recruit must learn is under the command of the masters at arms; this exercise is still kept up in part".

16,14. kar en teu manere, etc. : Ita autem seuere apud maiores exercitii disciplina seruata est, ut et [et ut] doctores, etc.

"discipline is preserved by rigorous reference to the ancients".

16,18. ne avant ke il feussent enclos...demostrassent : nec ante eis in tritico redderetur [recluderetur] annona, quam sub praesentia praefecti legionis, tribunorum uel principiorum [principum] etc. "Nor would they receive their regular allowance

of wheat before they had demonstrated, in the presence of the legion and its lords and princes, that they were tried, etc."

16,23. chose commune regularly translates respublica.

17,4. Enaprés en autres choses...erreur. I think si must be understood for ki, thus : "Furthermore, as Cato says, if in other affairs something is done wrongly, it may afterwards be put right; in battle, where retribution soon follows the mistake, there is no putting right of wrongs".

17,9. n'osent estre outre pers as venqueors. "no longer dare to assert themselves over their victors".

I.14. Tirones exercendos ad missibilia iacienda.

17,11. cum as pels o lor hantes. Translator's addition.

17,12. li chivaler ki haunte...venir. "the knight who practises at the post with the wooden staff (claua) or with a lance which is heavier than the spears he will use in future".

17,15. le mestre atende ke il seit costreint a geter. "the master at arms sees to it that the recruit is compelled to throw".

17,16. e torne sa haunte : hastile contorqueat [torqueat]. "and that he directs his lance".

I.15. Sagittis diligenter tirones inbuendos.

18,3. mes de pres...repeiré, etc. : Sed prope tertia uel quarta pars iuniorum, quae aptior potuerit reperiri, arcubus [arcubiis] ligneis sagittisque lusoriis (illos) ipsos exercenda est semper ad palos. "nearly a third or a quarter of the youngest soldiers found to be most suitable, etc."

(18,5) seetes enginouses. "artificial (i.e. practice) arrows".

Iceus refers to jovenes chivalers.

18,6. mestres e enginors : doctores...artificios.

E greindre cointise...seit demené : et maior adhibenda sollertia, ut arcum scienter teneant, ut fortiter [et f.] impleant, ut sinistra fixa sit, ut dextra [et d.] cum ratione ducatur.

18,16. Car Afffrican Scipio...archers : Africanus quidem Scipio, cum aduersum Numantinos, qui exercitus populi Romani sub iugum miserant, esset acie certaturus, aliter se superiorem futurum esse non credidit, nisi in omnibus centuriis lectos sagittarios mis- cuisset [fundis]. Oilz is evidently a miscopying for ostz of an earlier MS.; certainly ostz must be understood here. Compaignie is a recurring literal translation for acies, where the latter has several meanings, here "battle". Fundes, "slings" or by extension "slingers, stone-throwers", has slipped into the F.V. Latin text

from the beginning of the following chapter and certainly does not belong in this context. I suggest "For when Scipio Africanus was to fight with his companies against the Numantines, who had already dispatched the Roman armies, he would never have expected to gain the upper hand other than by mingling slingers with his selected archers".

I.16. Ad iactandos lapides (fundis) exercendos tirones.

19,4. ces ki habitoient en l'isle ke est apelé Primes : primi
Balearium insularum habitatores.

19,10. e seient ferru...destiner : teretes lapides de funda uel
fustibalo destinati [destinare] sagittis sunt omnibus grauiore.

"they are struck hard by well-aimed stones from slings or by arrows".

19,12. E sanz envie...coup : sine inuidia sanguinis hostis lapidis
ictu intreat. "undesirous of upsetting blood he terrifies the enemy with the stone and its blow". intereo causes confusion elsewhere (cf. 24,3 note).

19,13. Kar en toz les batailles...lenge : In omnibus autem ueterum
proeliis funditores militasse nullus ignorat [u. plus f. militasse
se i.]. Quae res ideo ab uniuersis tironibus frequenti exercitio
discenda [dicenda] est, quia fundam portare [prestare] nullus est
labor. ki gittent de fundes par mesprision. "who only cast from slings with scorn".

19,16. E a la fiez...o peres : Et interdum euenit, ut in lapidosis locis conflictus habeatur, ut mons sit [ut aut mons si] aliquis defendendus aut collis, ut ab obpugnatione [et ob oppugnationem] castellorum siue ciuitatum lapidibus barbari fundisque pellendi sint. According to the translation the barbarians, or the enemy, were apparently compelled to come to the attack with slings and stones in such places as are described. This is of course nonsense; what Vegetius originally suggests is that in these places slings and stones are of the greatest use in repelling an enemy.

I.17. De exercitio plumbatarum.

20,2. plums. Vegetius probably meant small balls of lead. Here the sense seems to be "leaden projectiles", perhaps short, barbed throwing-spears or the "loaded javelins" of the Phillips translation, which would be weighted with lead towards the tip for greater accuracy.

Kar le haunt...jovenes : Plumbatarum quoque exercitatio, quos mattiobarbulos uocant [quas marco barbulos uocat], est tradenda iunioribus. Bourdon de Sigrais comments upon the difficulty of translating Vegetius' mattiobarbulos into modern French: "Le nom étoit commun à l'arme & au soldat. Il signifie proprement un barbeau du Dieu Mars. On sent la métaphore soldatesque, & la difficulté de la faire sentir en François, où le terme de martiobarbule étonne & ne signifie rien" (Op. cit., Remarques, pp.9-10).

20,4. en cel pais : in Illyrico.

20,5. sis mile de chivalers. i.e. six thousand men to each legion.

20,6. esteient apelé Barbelez : Mattiobarbuli [marcio barbuli]
uocabantur. The sense is "and these two legions were called 'Barbelez'".

20,8. E par descerte...legions : pro merito uirtutis hos Mattiobarbulos
[marcio barbulos] Iouianos atque Herculianos censuerint appellandos
eosque cunctis legionibus praetulisse doceantur. According to the
translator these two legions marched in front of all the others,
although Vegetius simply states that they were the preferred legions.
In fact Diocletian took the name of Jovius when he succeeded to the
Empire, and Maximian, reigning jointly with him, took the name
Herculius; thus they named their favourite legions, the Mattiobarbuli,
after themselves: Jovians and Herculeans.

20,11. Les queus is a mistranslation for quinos. According to the
original each soldier carried five such weapons in the hollow of his
shield.

20,14. kar lor enemis...trové : Nam hostes equosque consauciant,
priusquam non modo ad manum sed ad ictum missibilium potuerit
perueniri [inueniri]. Misunderstanding of the original, together with
the miscopying innueniri for perueniri, produces the mystifying
literal translation "for their enemies would not have their horses
before this weapon, which they were to throw by hand, could be found".

I.18. Quemadmodum ad ascendendos equos tirones exercendi sint.

20,16. discetisme is a miscalculation; this is the eighteenth
chapter (cf. 20,1 above: cest disesetisme chapitre and 21,10 :
cest disenefisme chapitre).

20,17. descendre : ascendendos.

20,18. chivalers soudeors : stipendiosis militibus.

20,20. le quel us...dissimulacion : Quem usum usque ad hanc aetatem, licet iam cum dissimulatione, peruenisse manifestum est. "although it is evident that this exercise has come down to our own times in a changed form".

21,1. Les queus chivauls...fust : Equi [Qui] lignei hieme sub tecto...ponebantur. "chivauls de fust...suz covert" would have been a more accurate translation. The French text fails to convey that a wooden vaulting-horse, not a real horse, was used regularly for these exercises.

21,2. sor seuz...munter. contremunt is probably a miscopying for contreint; thus "the young soldiers were first accustomed to vault unarmed upon these, and then they were obliged to do so fully armed".

21,5. apernoient descendre : (et insilire et) desilire condiscerent.

I.19. Ad portandum pondus exercendos tirones.

21,12. e aler sovenement, etc. "and must often make (route-) marches, so that when need arises...".

21,14. E ne creie...acostumé. "And let no man believe that this is difficult to do once one has grown accustomed to it".

21,17. e ce tesmoine Virgile, etc. The quotation is from Georgics, III, 346-8. For once the Latin is not translated; it differs at three points from L.V.: non carpit is written for cum carpit, hostem for hosti, and ymagine for in agmine.

I.20. Quo armorum genere usi sint antiqui.

22,5. car ja ce ke...nuz : nam licet exemplo Gothorum et Alanorum Hunnorumque [chunorumque] equitum arma profecerint, pedites constat esse nudatos. aparmain generally has the sense "soon, straightway"; here it is simply a miscopying for parmain. The sense is "for although arms (of the cavalry) have benefited by the example of the Goths, the Alans and the cavalry of the Tumans (sic; for "Huns"), the infantry still remains uncovered (i.e. unarmed and defenceless)".

22,8. Kar puis ke...après : Ab urbe enim condita usque ad tempus diui Gratiani. citee refers of course to Rome.

22,10. Mes quant le haunt...cassides : Sed (cum) campestris exercitatio interueniente neglegentia desidiaque cessaret, grauia uideri arma coeperunt, quae raro milites induebant; itaque ab imperatore postulant primo catafractas, deinde cassides sedere refundere [se debere fundere]. le haunt de champestre: a reference to the Campus Martius, thus "martial exercises". entrevenant: pres. part., "interrupting"; here "being interrupted" must be understood. les chivalers, etc. "the soldiers seldom took up and put on heavier armour". The following statement directly contradicts the original; Vegetius' soldiers asked not that they might put on helmet (cassides) and cuirass but, on the contrary, that they might lay them aside.

22,16. Kar après...catefractes : Nec post tot clades, quae [Nam post clades que] usque ad tantarum urbium excidia peruenerunt, cuiquam curae fuit uel catafractas uel galeas pedestribus reddere.

The translation again misleads; such defensive armour was not worn, although repeated experiences had proved it necessary.

22,19. ces ke sunt ordinez...combatre. "those in the army who are exposed to wounds think only of fleeing and not of fighting".
nui~~z~~ en la compaignie : in acie nudi. (Cf. 18,16 note)

23,1. k'il ne pusse tenir l'escu o l'arc : qui cum arcu scutum tenere non potest.

23,4. pez is undoubtedly a miscopying. Pectus > piz 8,20 and 25,11.

Mes li hauberc...l'un e l'autre. "But for the foot-soldier who rarely bears arms the hauberk seems very heavy; so does the helmet, but perhaps more seldom. He, however, who exercises daily, has no such troubles, even if he has to wear them both" (etiam si onerosa gestauerit).

23,9. lor cors descovert : detectis corporibus.

23,11. k'il se pernent a certainement fuir R.p. e en teu manere trair : aut capi aut certe fuga rempublicam prodere [fugere R.p. prodere]. Respublica is normally translated as chose commune

(cf. 16,23 note); here the Latin abbreviation has been faithfully transcribed, its sense probably being not at all clear to the translator.

23,13. Car dunk a les aunciens...quisses destres : Vnde enim apud antiquos murus dicebatur pedestris exercitus, nisi quod pilatae legiones praeter scuta etiam catafractis galeisque fulgebant? usque eo, ut sagittarii sinistra brachia manicis munirentur, pedites autem scutati [scuta] praeter catafractas et galeas etiam ferreas

ocreas in dextris gruribus cogerentur accipere. for ke de tel

leu for nisi quod pilatae ("javelin-armed") is perplexing;

"unless from such a place" is evidently meaningless, and a miscopying for por ce ke would still be of little use in suggesting some sort of interpretation. Similar illogical passages are common throughout the text. It would be difficult indeed to determine from this chapter exactly what armour the Roman legionaries wore. The translation is continually at variance with the original, to which reference must be made at many points for enlightenment.

23,19. ceus ki furent...archers : qui in prima acie pugnantes principes, in secunda hastati, in tertia triarii [sagittarii] uocabantur. In the following line Vegetius' triarii - the third line of troops, generally composed of veterans - become ceus ke furent a tere.

23,23. entre les escuz, etc. "under cover of their shields, lest by standing they were wounded".

24,3. com ceus...alassent entre eus : cum hastati illi et qui priores steterant interissent. "when those armed with spears and who stood in the first line went among them (i.e. doubled back, retreated)" (cf. 19,12 note).

24,5. 'de leger armeure', lengours, e autre manere de genz : leuis armaturae, funditores et ferentarii.

24,8. ne il n'esteient...pes : nec erant admodum multi, qui cedentes, si proelii necessitas compulisset, inter principia legionum recipi solebant, ita ut acies inmota consisteret. e soleient estre receu, etc. "and they would be received (i.e. absorbed when retreating)

through the front part of their legions in the usual manner, so that the line remained undisturbed".

24,13. les queus...Pannonikes : quos Pannonicos uocabant.

24,14. ke pesante heaume...chef. The sense is "the soldier, provided that he always wore something on his head, did not notice a heavy helmet in actual battle".

24,17. de sotil fer...pesant : ferro subtili trigono praefixa unciarum nouem [.viii.] siue pedali. It is the iron tip of the javelin that is here described. Although mistakenly given as "nine ounces in weight" by the translator it is in fact nine inches or a foot in length.

24,21. teu manere...darz : cuius generis apud nos iam rara sunt tela. relement is probably a miscopying for rerement.

24,23. libres : bebras [libras]. The miscopying is already there in the F.V. Latin; (libra is properly "balance, pair of scales").

25,2. Mes quant...destre pé avant : Sed cum ad pila, ut appellant, uenitur et manu ad manum gladiis pugnatur, tunc dextros pedes in ante milites habere debent.

25,6. le destre. "the right arm".

I.21. De munitione castrorum.

25,17. par entreval : intra uallum ("within the fortifications").

25,18. issi ke lor enemi lor assege : etiam s̄ hostis obsideat.

25,20. Mes tele manere...plusors : Sed huius rei scientia prorsus intercidit; nemo enim iam diu [tam de] ductis fossis praefixisque sudibus castra constituit. Sic [Si] diurno uel nocturno superuentu equitum barbar^{or}um multos exercitus scimus frequenter adflictos.

rerement is certainly less categorical than 'Vegetius' prorsus.

The sense of the passage is somewhat obscure; perhaps "But they seldom had this sort of knowledge, for no-one ever establishes a camp with excavated ditches or with such stakes (i.e. in present times); thus by night or by day we have often come to know many surprise attacks of enemy cavalry".

26,1. ceus qui s'afient : considentes [confidentes].

26,2. a compaignie : in acie.

26,4. ne lor fin...occire : nec prius moriundi finis fit, quam hostibus uoluntas defuerit persequendi.

I.22. In qualibus locis constituenda sint castra.

26,9. Les herberges...enemi : Castra autem, praesertim hoste uicino, tuto semper facienda sunt loco. The camp will of course often be established nowhere near enemy forces.

26,17. e par iceu cas le ost sofre force : et hoc casu uim patiat^{ur} exercitus. Perhaps "in this way the army is exposed to attack".

Por nombre de chivalers ou de gent a pé : Pro numero autem militum uel inpedimentorum [peditum]. chivalers here takes on a quite specific meaning, "mounted soldiers", as opposed to "foot soldiers". Elsewhere it is often used for either.

26,19. en petite choses : in paruis ("in smaller spaces").

I.23. Quali specie castra delinianda sint.

27,5. provosterie : praetoria.

27,6. si il est en teu manere fait : si iter [ita] agitur.

27,8. entre la quele...baneres : intra quam primae centuriae, hoc est cohortes, papiliones tendunt (et dracones) et signa constituunt.
entre la quele partie. "on which side".

27,10. De la curiane porte...porte : Decumana [De curiana] autem porta, quae appellatur, post praetorium est.

I.24. Quo genere munienda sint castra.

27,15. Car si tresgrant...enracinez : Nam si nimia necessitas non premit, caespites circumciduntur e terra. estachera is a miscopying for esrachera; thus the sense is properly "In great need, rooted tree-trunks are to be torn out of the ground", whereas Vegetius in fact recommends that when there is no danger turves should be cut! Similarly les arbres of line 19 refer again to caespites.

27,19. enaprès seit...haut : deinde tumultuaria fossa fit lata pedes nouem et alta pedes VII [sit lata pedes .iiii. altaque pedes .vi.]. Discrepancies in measures of length between the standard edition of Lang and the F.V. are not infrequent.

28,1. e haut, ke il appellant parfundesse : et alta sub linea [sublimitas], sicut appellant.

28,2. E desor...pés : Supra autem saepibus hinc inde factis, quae de fossa leuata fuerit [1. egesta f.], terra congeritur et crescit

in altum III pedes. Thus the earth excavated from the ditch is used to build a parapet on a frame of hurdles on the camp side.

28,5. desus le quel...devant. "on top of which a palisade, made of strong wooden stakes which the soldiers used to carry with them, is to be firmly planted".

28,7. Ke les legions...mester est : Ad quod opus ligones rastra qualos aliaque [legiones castra qualosque] utensilium genera habere conuenit semper in promptu.

I.25. Quemadmodum munienda sint castra, cum hostis imineat.

28,10. vint e utime : (cf. 20,16 note). This is in fact the twenty-fifth chapter. The final chapter to Book I has, correctly, vint e utisme (31,7).

28,16. les autres...terce : reliqui post ipsos ductis fossis muniunt castra, et per praeconem indicatur, quae centuria [tentoria] prima, quae secunda, quae tertia opus omne compleuerit.

28,20. ki est mestre de cent chivalers : Translator's addition.

29,1. a cest mester...ki : Ad hunc ergo usum instituendus est tiro, ut, etc.

I.26. Quemadmodum exerceantur tirones (ut in acie ordines et interualla custodiant).

29,11. E en teu manere...damager : et [Ita] rariores atque interlucentes aditum perrumpendi hostibus praestant [dabant]. entre les cliers may be a miscopying for entre l'esciere (another form

of eschiele, eschele), although the translation still would not convey the sense of the original.

29,12. Donc covient...compaignie. "If the enemy comes up in the rear to give battle with all of his forces, then fear will necessarily cause general confusion". par tote la compaignie : intercisa [uniuersa] acie.

29,18. ke les estendues...cortes : ne quos sinus, ne quas habeat [habent] curuaturas. Vegetius is in fact describing a single line or rank.

29,22. Au tiers...sodainement : Tertio praecipendum (ut quadratam) aciem repente constituent. ost comaunder is probably a miscopying for est a comaunder.

30,1. donc sera...parties. "then this same company is to be formed in the shape of a triangle".

30,3. Ensement...bien endurez : Iubetur etiam, ut instruant orbes, quo genere, cum uis hostium interruperit aciem, resisti ab exercitatis militibus consuevit.

30,8. par assiduel penser : adsidua meditatione.

I.27. Quantum spatium ire ac redire debeant uel quotiens in mense exerceri, cum educuntur milites ambulatum.

30,13. Estre ce...constitucions : Praeterea et uetus consuetudo permansit et diui Augusti atque Hadriani constitutionibus praecauetur.

30,15. hors aler : ambulatum. i.e. "route march".

30,16. kar il n'apelent...noun : hoc [Nec] enim uerbo hoc exercitii genus nominant.

De dis mile pas...fust : "Those soldiers who were well-versed in all kinds of (military) arts were commanded to march a distance of 10,000 paces out from and back to their camps; they did this in such a manner that if necessary they sometimes marched part of the way at a swifter rate".

(30,17) ceus ki bien furent apris de totes maneres d'ars : armati instructique omnibus telis.

(30,20) si mesters fust : Translator's addition.

30,22. issi ke owelement...recours : ita ut ad equestrem meditationem [ita ut eq' ad medietatem] interdum sequantur interdum cedant et recursu quodam impetus reparent. "in that they followed them evenly for half of such a distance, and sometimes retreated to effect a mock assault in returning".

31,2. en clivoses e en hauz leuz : in cliuosis et arduis locis.

I.28. De adhortatione rei militaris Romanaeque uirtutis.

31,17. ke les terres ne soient effetes ke engendrèrent les Romains : nec effetae sunt terrae, quae Lacedaemonios, quae Athenienses, quae Marsos, quae Samnites, quae Pelignos, quae ipsos progenuere Romanos. References to distant lands, places, peoples, etc. quite often cause difficulty to the translator. In this case he avoids trouble by omitting all but the Romans.

31,21. ceus de Trace e de Nace e de Meise : Dacos autem et Moesos et Thracas [Naceos autem et Mesos ac Cractes].

32,5. Mes la plus longteine...choses : Sed longae [longeua] securitas pacis homines partim ad delectationem otii partim ad ciuilia transduxit [suauia transducit] officia. The sense is obscure; perhaps "the exceptionally long period of security brought about by peace was too much for everyday affairs, partly in the pleasure of idleness and partly in various luxuries (i.e. which this peace resulted in)".

32,10. ne nul se deit...pers : nec aliquis hoc superiore aetate accidisse miretur, cum post primum Punicum bellum uiginti et quod excurrit annorum pax ita Romanos illos ubique uictores otio et armorum desuetudine eneruauerit, ut secundo Punico bello Hannibali pares esse non possent. com la premere bataille, etc.

"when the first African war took place twenty-three or more years ago the Romans gained a complete victory on account of the enemy's idleness and the heaviness of their arms which weakened them; so that in the second African war Hannibal's Spaniards could not match them". The translator evidently has a penchant for stating direct opposites to the original sense; contrary to his belief, the Romans themselves were no match for Hannibal. Twenty-three years is an accurate assessment of the period of time which elapsed between the end of the first Punic war and the beginning of the second, but uiginti [xx.] et quod is found in the original Latin. Lang notes however just one manuscript which has biginti et tres.

32,15. E quant...chivalerie : Tot itaque consulibus, tot ducibus, tot exercitibus amissis, tunc demum ad uictoriam peruenerunt, cum usum exercitiumque militare condiscere potuerunt.

BOOK II

33,1. The Latin text of the F.V. has : liber primus explicit. Incipit liber secundus. flauii uexati Renati uiri illustris comitis epitoma institutorum rei militaris de Comentariis.

33,3. e ensement...Augustin. This passage does not occur in the F.V. Latin, although Lang (p.31 note) notes it in other manuscripts.

Les establissemenz. This is in fact the Preface to Book II; but it figures in the French chapter-list on fol.1v. as the first chapter of Book II, headed Les establissemenz de majors (2,4). Since it does not figure in the F.V. Latin chapter-list the title is probably taken by the translator from the first line of text below.

33,9. Mes vostre...faiz : Verum tranquillitas tua, imperator inuicte, altiori consilio, quam mens poterat terrena concipere, ex libris antiqua desiderat, cum ipsam antiquitatem factis recentibus antecedit [antecedebat]. "But your calmness of mind, o invincible Emperor, may by deliberation conceive higher things than those which the mortal mind may seek in ancient books, for your own deeds surpass antiquity itself."

33,12. Por ce m'en sui...hounte : Igitur cum haec litteris breuiter comprehendere maiestati uestrae non tam discenda [dicenda] quam recognoscenda praeciperer, certauit [certamen] saepius deuotio cum pudore. "To this end I decided to gather these things together concisely in writing for Your Majesty, in order not merely to acknowledge them, but to put them into words; my respect (for you) often struggled with my devotion (to duty)." Vegetius was commanded by the Emperor to carry out the work; he did not himself spontaneously decide to begin it.

33,19. si il ne ust...fait : nisi forte iussisset fieri, quod ipse gessisset. Thus "unless perhaps he had commanded to be set down those deeds he had himself performed".

34,1. par merveilouse manere...niasse. The sense is "For in a singular way I may yet be bold in accepting your command, whereas I should fear to be considered even more audacious if I were to refuse it".

34,5. e neporquant...peine : non tamen culpatus abscessi. Nec formido iussus adgredi opus, quod spontaneum cessit [gessit] inpune. "and yet I did not share in any reproach; nor did I fear to accomplish that work which I myself undertook without retribution." Vegetius was not commissioned to write Book I (le livre of line 4), which however met with the Emperor's approval. His second Book was written at the Emperor's command; hence the flattering preface. Vegetius, anxious to preserve his

modesty before the Emperor, scarcely preserves the modesty of his pen. Bourdon de Sigrais justly writes: "Il n'y a guère de pudeur dans ces louanges, quoique dans un Epître Dédicatoire" (op.cit., Remarques, p.15).

II.1. In quot genera diuidatur res militaris.

34,9. la chose ke appartient a chivalerie : res militaris.

34,11. ke est par armes e par forces : armis constat et uiris [uiribus].

34,13. Gent a chival...oysel : Equitum alae dicuntur ab eo, quod ad similitudinem alarum ab utraque parte protegunt acies.

34,15. les compaignies...chefs : quae nunc vexillationes uocantur a uelo, quia uelis, hoc est flammulis, utuntur. les compaignies refers back to the cavalry wings. The etymologies of Vegetius suffer badly in translation, but there would seem to be little excuse for describing cavalry standards as being worn on the soldiers' heads!

34,18. a l'ensample...mer : ad quorum exemplum ocreati sunt equites instituti. Classis, etc. [ocreatis equites instructi classes.] The ocreati are properly those who wear metal greaves, in this case a special cavalry force. Obviously the cavalry have nothing to do with the fleet, although the translator, misreading his Latin, suggests that the two are connected.

35,1. Dunt il est entendu...gent a pé : Ex quo intellegitur magis reipublicae necessarios pedites.

35,3. Le ost...haunt : Exercitus ex re ipsa atque opere exercitii nomen accepit. Again the etymology cannot be successfully rendered in translation.

35,6. ke la une partie...sorvenans : hoc est (in auxilia et legiones. Sed) auxilia a sociis uel foederatis gentibus mittebantur.

35,8. car la vertu...ordeinement. The sense is "The Romans surpass all others in military affairs by the organisation of their legions".

35,9. Legion...entente : Legio autem ab eligendo appellata est, quod uocabulum eorum desiderat fidem atque diligentiam, qui milites probant.

II.2. Quid inter legiones et auxilia intersit.

35,17. Ffranceis...batailles : Galli atque Celtiberi pluresque barbarae [plerisque barbarice] nationes cateruis utebantur in proelio [proeliis].

35,19. a la fiez soleient plus chivaucher. The full Latin text has Romani legiones habent, in quibus singulis sena milia, interdum amplius militare consuerunt [consueuerunt]. Romani...milia is omitted in the translation, leaving the phrase out of its proper context.

The sense is "sometimes there would be more serving as soldiers".

36,3. Teus establies : Alia [Talia] instituta.

36,7. il ne porrunt...assemblée : non possunt aequaliter inssa conphere qui ante pariter non fuerunt.

36.10. Car les aides...principal aide. "For the auxiliaries would be joined with the legions in the line (in acie) as light troops,

so that in battle they were of greater assistance than the first line of reserve troops."

36,13. Ka la legion...ferrentaires : Legio autem propriis cohortibus plena cum grauem armaturam, hoc est (principes hastatos triarios antesignanos, item leuem armaturam, hoc est) ferentarios, etc. The omission of a part of the Latin text leads to the translator's cataloguing of various types of leuis armatura under the general heading of heavy troops!

36,16. e k'il tiengent...parfitement : isdem [hiis dem] matriculis teneat, cum uno animo parique consensu castra muniat, aciem instruat, proelium [fidelium] gerat, ex omni parte perfecta. "and they must be united, as on the legionary roll, in one spirit and one accord when encamping and being instructed; and the legion everywhere acts with complete loyalty". Continue: "with no outside assistance from foreigners; for in this way large numbers of enemy forces could be overcome".

36,23. combatant...parmist. "fighting when they chose or when circumstances permitted".

II.3. Quae causa exhauriri fecerit [fecit] legiones.

37,3. des souverains tens : superiorum temporum.

37,4. mes quant...lowers : cum [Nam cum] uirtutis praemia occuparet ambitio. Perhaps "when the quest for virtue earned the rewards". Continue: "and the soldiers were advanced by favours who before had to advance themselves by sheer hard work".

37,7. Enaprès autres...compaignies : Deinde contubernalibus
(completis stipendiis per testimoniales ex more dimissis) non
sunt alii substituti.

Car il covent...defailli. "For some are bound to be
weakened by illness and others inevitably default through various
reasons; if those leaving every year or every month were not to
be replaced, even the most numerous army would soon be exhausted."

37,13. e les plusors, e les uns por les petis souz : plura
munera. Disliking the hard work demanded in the legions proper,
young men now prefer to enlist in the auxiliaries where duties
are lighter and rewards proportionately better.

37,17. Caton...dire : Cato ille Maior, cum et armis inuictus
esset (et) consul exercitus saepe duxisset [dixisse].

37,21. Car il sunt...fait : Nam unius aetatis sunt quae fortiter
fiunt.

37,23. mes nomeement...marcherai : sed praecipue Frontinus
[fedestinus a] diuo Traiano ab eiusmodi conprobatus [conprobatur]
industria. Horum instituta, horum praecepta, in quantum ualeo,
strictim fideliterque signabo.

38,4. Car com il face...amendé : Nam cum easdem expensas faciat
et diligenter et neglegenter exercitus ordinatus, non solum
praesentibus, sed etiam futuris saeculis proficit, si prouisione
maiestatis tuae, imperator Auguste, et fortissima dispositio
reparetur armorum et emendetur dissimulatio praecedentum. "Since
the army makes its own expenses (pays for itself?), and a poorly
organised army concerns not only present but future generations,

both the strong and orderly discipline of arms may be established and the neglect referred to above may be made good, o august Emperor, by your foreseeing leadership."

II.4. Quotenas legiones (antiqui) ad bellum duxerint.

38,12. pas plus...fors double legions, estre aide de autre compaignie. i.e. "no more...than two legions, besides auxiliaries".

38,17. solonc la riule de dreiture de chivalerie : secundum normam militaris iuris. i.e. "according to the military code", laid down by the emperors.

38,18. La quele descripcion...clere : Quae descriptio si obscurior aut inpolitior [obscuriora utrum politior] uidebitur.

38,21. en corage : Adtento...animo.

39,2. quant li empereor...batailles : cuius imperator militari arte percepta, quantos uoluerit, faciat exercitus bellicosos. The sense is "if the Emperor, when well-versed in military art, raises as large an army as is necessary for his campaigns".

II.5. Quemadmodum legio constituatur.

39,9. a formé translates formatur. A better, though not entirely accurate rendering might be seit formé.

Kar les chivalers...jurer : Nam uicturis in cute punctis milites scripti, cum matriculis inseruntur, iurare solent. Evidently the Roman system, whereby new recruits were branded or tattooed

with a special military mark, means nothing to the translator.

39,13. ki solonc Deu...lygne : quae secundum Deum generi humano diligenda est et colenda.

39,14. il est leal...servir : tamquam praesenti et corporali Deo fidelis est praestanda deuotio, inpendendus peruigil famulatus [peruigili famulatur]. It is the Emperor who should be served with devotion by his subjects, since he is the direct representative of God.

39,16. primat : priuatus.

39,19. e jamés...commune chose : numquam deserturos militiam nec mortem recusaturos pro Romana republica [recusandos possidet manare publica]; (possidet manare publica is expunctuated).

II.6. Quot cohortes in una sint legione, (item quot milites in una cohorte sint).

40,3. Mes la premere...digneté : Sed prima cohors reliquas et numero militum et dignitate praecedit.

40,5. par ligne e par institucion. "by birth and education".

40,6. ke est le principal...enpresent : quod praecipuum signum in Romano est semper exercitu et totius legionis insigne; haec imagines imperatorum, hoc est diuina (et) praesentia signa, ueneratur.

40,11. la compaignie miliana : cohors miliaria [miliana].

40,15. cinquanteine : quingentaria.

40,20. Mes la quinte compaignie, etc. Both French and Latin texts of the F.V. omit the statement of the strength of the fifth cohort which is given, prior to this sentence, in L.V. : Cohors quinta habet pedites DLV, equites LXVI.

41,11. e cele compaignie refers to the tenth cohort, the translator having omitted the preceding piece of Latin text: Cohors X. habet pedites DLV, equites LXVI.

41,15. .vi. milers : sex milia centum. The translation is one hundred short.

41,17. non pas une compaignie...milers : si non tantum unam cohortem sed etiam alias miliarias fuerit iussa suscipere. The translation, inaccurate, states: "not just one company but others too will be commanded to take in bodies a thousand men strong".

A simple diagram, on page 42 of Phillips' edition of Vegetius, makes the text of this chapter much clearer.

II.7. Nomina et gradus principiorum legionis.

41,21. Ce dit le auctor is added by the translator.

Je voil demostrer...ore : Antiqua ordinatione legionis exposita, principalium militum et, ut proprio uerbo utar, principiorum nomina ac dignitates secundum praesentes matriculas indicabo.

42,2. Le plus principal prince : Tribunus maior.

42,3. e li autre...Romuli : Minor tribunus peruenit ex labore.
Tribunus [ut ex labore tribunus] autem uocatur ex tribu, quia
praeest militibus, quos ex tribu primus Romulus legit. Again the
etymology does not succeed in translation.

42,7. asseront translates ducunt, written dicunt and expunc-
tuated in the F.V. Latin text. The sense here is "will place,
arrange".

42,9. par l'emperor. i.e. by the Emperor Augustus.

Fflaviales...as legions : Flauiales item, tamquam secundi
Augustales, a diuo Vespasiano sunt legionibus additi.

42,11. as ordinaires. Translator's addition.

42,13. E gent desirez...plaiez : Optiones ab adoptando [optando]
appellati, quod antecedentibus aegritudine praepeditis hi tamquam
adoptati eorum atque uicarii solent uniuersa curare. Optiones are
in fact adjutants, or subaltern officers. At a loss with this
passage the translator has evidently seized upon aegritudine and
curare and drawn his own conclusions as to their general context.

42,17. gent ke garderunt le champ : Campigeni, hoc est antesig-
nani.

42,18. e autre manere de gent de mester : Metatores.

42,21. After benefices des princes, a sentence of the Latin text
dealing with legionary accountants is omitted: Librarii ab eo,
quod in libros referunt rationes ad milites pertinentes.

42,21. Menestrals...bataile : Tubicines cornicines (et bucinatores)
qui tuba uel aere curuo [ereo cornu] uel bucina committere proelium
solent.

42,24. Gent ou double armeure...en citez : Armaturae duplares qui binas consecuntur annonas, simplares qui singulas. Mensesores qui in castris ad podismum [potissimum] demetiuntur loca, in quibus tentoria milites figant, uel hospitia in ciuitatibus praestant.

The translator mistakenly identifies the functions of the armaturae simplares, which are not in fact stated in the original, with those of the mensesores, who are primarily responsible for quartering the legions.

43,5. After double, a further portion of the Latin text is omitted in translation: Duplares, sesquiplares [sinquiplares] : duplares duas, sesquiplares [sinquiplares] unam semis consequabantur annonam. Candidati duplares, candidati simplares. Hi sunt milites principales, qui priuilegiis muniuntur. The latter sentence is translated by e de ce vindrent les provendres ke sunt en hautes esglises, a true howler. The translator then glosses over his series of omissions by adding a comment on out-dated military offices; this itself replaces the closing sentence of the Latin chapter: Reliqui munifices appellantur, quia munera facere coguntur.

43,7. e autres nouns les aunciens aveient ke nus ne usom pas.

The Latin text of the F.V. does not separate this chapter from the next; by accident the number and title of the chapter, although badly copied, have been incorporated in the text itself, which continues Octo nomina eorum quanti quos ducebant. Vetus tamen consuetudo, etc. The only sign of the original chapter-division is the capital V in Vetus, in the middle of a line of text. The French text shows no sign of the earlier division of the two chapters, which I have indicated by a new paragraph.

II.8. (Nomina eorum, qui antiquos ordines ducebant.)

43,9. cil ki portait...centeners : ex primo principe legionis promoueretur centurio primi pili, qui non solum aquilae praeerat, uerum etiam quattuor centurias, hoc est CCCC milites, in prima acie gubernabat.

43,13. Icestui...legion. The sense is "He (as head of the legion) enjoyed many benefits, rewards and privileges".

43,14. En tens Astuti...cent homes e .l. : Item primus hastatus [In tempore hastatus] duas centurias, id est CC homines, ducebat in acie secunda, quem nunc ducenarium uocant. Princeps autem primae cohortis centuriam semis, hoc est CL homines, gubernabat. Ad quem in legione prope omnia, quae ordinanda sunt, pertinent. Item secundus hastatus centuriam semis, id est CL homines, regebat. (Triarius prior centum homines gubernabat.) Again the French can only be properly understood by recourse to the Latin text. The translator has attempted to condense the original and in the process confuses the offices of the hastati and of the principes of the first cohort, omits to mention the first triarius (omitted likewise in the F.V. Latin), and creates in Astutus an entirely fictitious personage.

43,19. E en teu manere...legion : Sic decem centuriae cohortis primae a quinque ordinariis regebantur [Sic decem centuriis regebantur]. oes, on line 21, in fact refers back to these ordinarii.

43,23. Onkore...centeinors : Erant etiam centuriones, qui singulas centurias curabant; qui nunc centenarii nominantur. centeines again translates centuriones on 44,4; centeines 43,15 and 43,19 translates centuriae; centeners 43,13 apparently translates centurio. The Fitzwilliam translation could clearly never be used as a criterion for the definition of military terms of antiquity.

44,3. dens : decani. chef de la compagnie : caput contubernii.

II.9. De officio praefecti legionis.

44,9. Mes messagers...ost : Sed legati imperatoris ex consulibus ad exercitus mittebantur.

44,17. quant le messenger ne fu pas : absente legato.

44,18. Les autres princes...crior : Tribuni uel centuriones ceterique milites (eius) praecepta seruabant. Vigilarum siue profectionis tessera ab eodem petebatur [praecipiebatur]. The translation at least preserves the sense of the original.

44,21. mis a peine. i.e. by the tribune.

II.10. De officio praefecti castrorum.

45,9. mes k'il esteit...causes : licet inferior dignitate, occupatus tamen non mediocribus causis. The prefect of the camp has duties of some importance, which the translator seems to deny.

45,14. E ensement...garde : Vehicula sagmarii [Vehiculas agiuarii] necnon etiam ferramenta, quibus materies secatur uel caeditur

[conceditur], quibusque aperiuntur fossae, contextur [contersitur]
uallum aquaeductus, item ligna uel stramina [u. in s.] arietes onagri
ballistae ceteraque genera tormentorum ne deessent aliquando,
procurabat. The translator condenses this passage, perplexed by
its wide and varied vocabulary and probably by miscopyings in the
Latin original.

II.11. De officio praefecti fabrorum.

46,2. Estre ce...mansions : Habet praeterea legio fabros tignarios
structores [instructores] carpentarios ferrarios, pictores
reliquosque artifices ad hibernorum aedificia fabricanda.

46,5. ou fenduz : uel defenduntur propriae.

46,8. After en tote manere, there is no translation of the original
Latin passage describing the functions of the travelling workshops
where arms were made.

46,10. com de fevre e de charpenter. Translator's addition.

deske il puissent...voleient : usque eo, ut etiam
cunicularios haberent, qui ad morem Bessorum ducto sub terris
cuniculo murisque intra fundamenta perfossis inprovisi emergerent
ad urbes hostium capiendas. Much later, a second reference to the
Bessi (a Thracian people), and their singular prowess in mining
operations, is similarly omitted by the translator.

II.12. De officio tribuni militum.

46,19. Les autres compagnies...prince : Reliquae cohortes, prout principi placuisset, a tribunis uel a praepositis regebantur.

47,1. non seulement...parfite art. princes (tribuni) must be understood as the subject throughout. The sense is "so that not only did the tribunes or the prefects command their men to devote themselves daily to arms, but they themselves instructed the soldiers in such exercises by their own expert example".

II.13. De centuriis atque uexillis peditum.

47,16. en tele manere...force : ita ut, ex qua [ex equal] cohorte uel quota esset centuria, in illo uexillo litteris esset adscriptum, quod intuentes uel legentes milites in quantouis tumultu a contubernaliis suis aberrare non possent.

48,1. ke nul erreur...teste : quatenus nullus error existeret, cum centeni milites sequerentur non solum uexillum suum sed etiam centurionem, qui signum habebat in galea.

48,7. Une compagnie...combatoient : Contubernium autem manipulus uocabatur ab eo, quod coniunctis manibus pariter dimicabant. The sense of the Latin is conveyed although the etymology, as to be expected, is lost. ferroient may be a miscopying of serroient ≠ ferir: "to strike".

(II.14. De turmis equitum legionariorum.)

The chapter-heading is reproduced in the body of the Latin text of the F.V. and the two chapters are likewise run together in the translation. I have indicated the original division by a new paragraph.

48,9. E ausi bien...dizeines : Quemadmodum inter pedites centuria uel manipulus appellatur, ita inter equites turma dicitur; et habet una turma equites XXXII.

48,12. dizeiner : decurio. (cf. 48,15.)

Kar cent feiz dis : Centum enim decem. The translator is never safe with numbers. According to him in this instance the centurion commands 1000 men, and the decurion 320 (instead of 32) horse, .xxxii. dizaines de gent a chival being a translation of XXXII equites [.xxx.v^c duo equites].

48,21. vallant : uigilans. i.e. miscopied from veillant.

49,5. e k'il seit queintes...sa garde : conto [compto] scienter uti, sagittas doctissime mittere, turmales [nutriretur malens] suos, id est sub cura sua equites positos, erudire.

II.15. Quemadmodum legionum acies instruuntur.

49,18. serount apris : instruuntur.

ore seit démontré...e a pé : declaretur unius legionis exemplo; quod, si usus [quod cursus] exegerit, transferri possit ad plures. Equites locantur in cornibus. Understand "this may be

demonstrated by taking as an example one legion, as a matter of course, which may represent the many (others) on horse and foot".

50,4. e les principaus : ceterique principales.

50,5. heaumes...mendres armes : cassides catafractas ocreas scuta gladios maiores, quos spathas uocant, et alios minores, quos semispathia nominant.

50,7. doble is added by the translator.

50,8. derichef...dart : item bina missibilia, unum maius ferro triangulo unciarum nouem, hastili pedum quinque semis, quod pilum uocabant, nunc spiculum dicitur. The shaft of the javelin is described by Vegetius as measuring $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet; for the translator hastili describes a second weapon. Below it is correctly translated haunte (line 13).

50,11. E de ceo...chivalers : ad cuius ictum exercebantur praecipue milites, quod [qui] arte et uirtute directum [diffeetum] et scutatos pedites et loricatos equites saepe transuerberat.

50,12. cinc unces pesant : unciarum quinque. Again a measure is given incorrectly, weight being substituted for length, as in 1.9 above.

50,14. e la seconde...armeure : secunda hastatorum armis talibus docetur instructa.

50,15. Avant ce : Post hos [Prius hiis]. This passage, as far as lenges (1.20), describes the more lightly-armed troops who are placed, properly, behind the first two lines. Logically, one would expect to find the passage at the end of the present chapter.

(50,16) ki ore sunt apelez armez d'escuz : quos nunc exculcatores et armaturas dicimus, scutati qui plumbatis etc. The translation slightly condenses the original, but completely ignores Vegetius' tragularii, qui ad manuballistas uel arcuballistas dirigebant sagittas.

50,21. en la quele...launces : in qua consistentes milites hastati uocabantur.

50,24. ne mie trop joinant : nona comitante [non a comitate].

A faulty Latin text causes the translator to omit the ninth cohort altogether.

II.16. Quemadmodum triarii uel centuriones armentur.

51,2. après totes les escheles applies to the trarii only, and not to the centurions, as stated.

51,3. e o maces ou double ploms de ferir : semispathiis plumbatis binis missibilibus.

51,5. ausi com de une entere compainie : quasi de integro.

51,6. E tuz ki sunt...banere : Omnes antesignani [Omnes autem signarii] uel signiferi, quamuis pedites. According to the original the ensigns do not cover themselves, but merely their helmets with bear-skins.

51,9. The centurions also wore coats-of-mail, or hauberks.

II.17. Commissa pugna grauem armaturam stare pro muro.

51,16. e les autres reseoient : triarii quoque residebant. The sense is "and the others settled (in their appropriate places)".

51,17. saillors : exculcatores [scultatores].

52,1. il retornoient...estal. "they doubled back through the heavily-armed lines and then stood firm."

52,8. ou archers e o lengeors a chivals : cum funditoribus sagittariis et equitibus.

Par ceste ordeinement...suire : Hac dispositione atque cautela sine periculo legio uincebat aut [ac] superata seruabatur incolumis, quia legionis ius est facile nec fugere nec sequi.

"By this disposition and precaution the legion was victorious and remained unharmed and fresh; for it is proper that a legion should neither be able to flee with ease nor to pursue with ease."

II.18. Nomina militum et gradus in scutis eorum aduersis scribenda.

52,17. dignitez : digmata [dignata].

52,20. E puis ke si eurent fait : Ex his igitur apparet, etc.

This long sentence is a general statement serving more or less to emphasise the sound organisation of the legions, as it has thus far been described.

53,2. a mettre ens...chivalers : quae omne genus militum contineret (et) armorum. (quae refers to legion.)

53,3. E si ascune...chivalers : Si quis igitur pugna publica superari barbaros cupit, ut, diuinitatis nutu, dispositione imperatoris inuicti reparentur ex tironibus legiones [legionibus], uotis omnibus petat. The translator is at a loss for much of the rest of this chapter. Here the sense seems to be: "And if an open battle is undertaken with the intention of vanquishing the barbarians, the legions (soldiers?) should be disposed according to the order and instruction of the Emperor, and he himself should go before all (other) legions with all their new recruits".

53,6. Car de deuz ures espace de tens : Intra breue autem spatium temporis. Vegetius at his most optimistic could never have visualised a time when the perfect soldier could be created in a mere two hours!

53,11. ke ount hauntés totes terres e environez : qui orbem terrarum integrum [integre] subegerunt.

53,12. Ne lor move...ne nuist pas : Nec moueat, quod olim est consuetudo mutata quae uiguit [nocuit]. Perhaps "That which was in ancient times a changeable custom neither worries them, nor ever harmed them".

53,13. Mes ceste porveiance...estable : sed huius felicitatis ac [seu] prouisionis est perennitas tua [perhennis statuta]. il (1.14) refers to the Emperor.

53,16. si les chivalers...soffisables : ceterum si exercitati et prudentes uiri dilectui praeponantur, celeriter manus bellis apta poterit adgregari et diligenter institui. Quiduis [Quid uir] enim efficit sollertia, si competentes non denegentur expensae.

II.18. Praeter corporis robur notarum uel computandi artem in
tironibus [institutoribus] eligendam.

54,1. Mes ke en legions...cel office : Sed quoniam in legionibus
plures scholae sunt, quae litteratos milites quaerunt [scale erunt
qui litteratos milites qua erunt], ab his, qui tirones probant, in
omnibus quidem staturae magnitudinem, corporis robur, alacritatem
animi conuenit explorari, sed in quibusdam notarum peritia, cal-
culandi computandi(que) usus eligitur. mes en les uns, etc.

The sense is "but it happens that in some a particular skill is
observed such as that of counting or of accountancy, and he who is
possessed of such skill is therefore selected for this office".

54,6. Kar la reison...par dreit encheison. This passage omits
some of the detail of the original but conveys its sense well.

54,16. car covenable chose...estraunges servises. "for it would
not be fitting for a soldier of the Emperor, who is clothed and
paid by the Emperor, to neglect his public duties and to turn to
extraneous services."

54,20. c'est a dire...sornombres : hoc est postea additi, quam
fuisset legio completa, quos nunc supernumerarios uocant.

54,23. e por ce...servises : Munifices enim ab eo appellantur,
quod haec munera faciunt. Note the ingenious piece of
etymologising on the part of the translator.

II.20. Donatiui partem dimidiam debent apud signa milites seques-
trare seruandam (ipsis).

55,2. la terce partie. One half (dimidia pars), not a third, of the soldier's receipts are deposited at the colours.

55,3. E ceste...l'empereor : Illud uero ab antiquis diuinitus institutum est.

55,6. demaudent : erogant.

55,7. Par un sage home...sostance de pecunie : Sepositio [Depositio]
autem ista pecuniae primum ipsis contubernalibus docetur adcommoda;
nam cum publica sustententur [sustentaretur] annona, ex omnibus
donatiuis augetur eorum pro medietate castrense peculium. Miles
deinde, qui sumptus suos scit apud signa depositos, (de) deserendo
nihil cogitat, magis diligit signa, pro illis (in acie fortius
dimicat, more humani ingenii, ut pro illis) habeat maximam curam,
in quibus suam uidet positam esse substantiam. The French rendering of this passage is most obscure. I suggest "It was a wise man who once ordained that this money should be set aside for later benefit; for since everyone else pays for common upkeep with money they have earned, the soldier was also included. He who knows his monies to be deposited at the colours thinks little of giving them over, (although) he might have preferred to keep them himself".

55,13. ceste chose. i.e. the pay deposits.

II.21. In legione ita fieri promotiones, ut per omnes cohortes transeant qui promouentur.

56,3. ke ces ki sunt...compaignies : i.e. "that they are promoted through each of the cohorts in turn".

56,5. par l'agard del empereor : diuinitatis instinctu.

56,8. ausi com roundesse en comun : quasi in orbem quendam.

56,11. a aucun degré. "by some rank." The idea is that the promoted soldier moves from the first to the tenth cohort, and then back through all the cohorts to the first again, each time gaining one step on the ladder of promotion.

56,13. E por ce...par provosterie : Ideo primi pili centurio, postquam in orbem omnes cohortes per diuersas administrauerit scholas, in prima cohorte ad hanc peruenit palmam, in qua ex omni legione infinita commoda consequatur; sicut primiscrinius [primus crinius] in officio praefectorum praetorio ad honestum quaestuosumque militiae peruenit finem. Again, from what are properly terms for special officers or ranks of the army, the translator produces fictitious characters with exotic-sounding names (cf. 43,14 note).

56,19. En teu manere...compaignie : Ita legionarii equites cohortes suas contubernii adfectione uenerantur.

56,22. contestacion : contextionem [contestationem].

II.22. Quid inter tubicines et cornicines et classicum intersit.

57,2. tabours is added by the translator. In line 3 taborors translates tubicines. It is the trumpeter, or tubicen, who sounds the charge and retreat, not the drummer.

57,5. les corneors...en bataille. This sentence conceals the distinctive functions of the tubicen and the cornicen which the original defines at greater length: Cornicines quotiens canunt, non milites sed signa (ad) eorum obtemperant nutum. Ergo quotiens ad aliquod opus exituri sunt soli milites, tubicines canunt, quotiens mouenda sunt signa, cornicines canunt.

57,7. The correct signe del empereor (here "commander-in-chief") is the classicum, a particular call of the bucina. The bucina itself is sounded on various occasions, whether the commander is present or not.

57,9. ou quant l'em coure...del empereor : uel cum in militem capitaliter animaduertitur, quia hoc ex imperatoris legibus fieri necesse est. Siue ergo ad uigilias uel agrarias faciendas siue ad opus aliquod uel ad decursionem campi exeunt milites, tubicine uocante operantur et rursus tubicine admonente cessant. Vegetius nowhere suggests that the bucina should be "softly sounded" when the opposing commander is a man of some distinction (in birth? rank?). Again the French version is very free.

57,14. Car en tuz...retorner : Quod ideo in omnibus exercitiis et processionibus custoditur, ut in ipsa pugna facilius obtemperent milites, siue eos pugnare siue stare siue sequi uel redire

praeceperint duces. i.e. "For in all expeditions and military advances it is imperative that the soldiers be prepared to rally together in battle, that they may know for sure which course their commanding officers will order them to take, etc."

II.23. De exercitatione militum.

58,2. Repeirom...ost : Legionis ordinatione digesta ad exercitium reuertimur, unde, sicut iam dictum est, exercitus nomen accepit.

The Latin etymology is again lost in translation.

58,9. mes puis ke...de lor armeure : sed, post quanta [postquam ita] uolueris stipendia, inexercitatus miles semper est tiro, Armaturam, quae festis diebus exhibetur in circo [idcirco], non tantum armaturae, qui sub campidoctore sunt, (sed omnes aequaliter con-
tubernales) cotidiana meditatione discebant. stipendia, here

"military service", has been read as "pay" by the translator, leading to an undue stress on the mercenary character of the army, which Vegetius would of course have greatly depreciated. The sense is "For neither age nor a great number of years (of service) will teach a soldier the art of war, but good pay will, if you but wish it; for the untrained recruit, on account of the good pay he receives, always wears his armour, even on feast-days, etc.".

58,16. C'est ore...multitudine. "The most important thing of all is always to follow the colours when entangled with the enemy, nor must well-trained soldiers go astray, lest the whole body of men be thrown into disorder."

58,22. E bon est...visage : Saltus quoque et ictus facere pariter adsuescant, insurgere tripudiantes [trepidantes] in clipeum rursusque subsidere, nunc gestiendo prouolare cum saltu [c.s. uultu], nunc cedentes in terga [integre] resilire.

59,3. e ou cestes...vertu : ut et ars dirigendi et dexterarum uirtus possit ad crescere.

59,7. E por ce...lunge : Propterea sine trepidatione in acie faciebant quod ludentes in campo fecerant semper. Adsuescendum est etiam, ut semel tantum funda circa caput rotetur, cum ex ea emittitur saxum. The original continues: Sed (et) manu sola omnes milites meditabantur libralia saxa iactare, qui usus paratior creditur, quia non desiderat fundam. de founde is obviously required for foundé (fundé is the regular spelling in the text).

59,14. en teu manere conceals the translator's omission of Vegetius' description of the special halls which were constructed for the continued exercising of both cavalry and infantry, when wintry conditions made field-training impossible.

59,19. e aler un pas e courre durement : gradu pleno ambulare uel currere. The preceding natare in mari siue fluminibus is not translated.

59,20. k'il ne feussent...legerement : ut cotidiani laboris usus in pace difficilis non uideatur in bello. "so that they were not easily seen to be inactive in battle."

II.24. Exempla adhortationum [ad exortationem] exercitii militaris
de aliis artibus tracta.

60,6. champion : Athleta.

60,8. ausi bon chivaler...empereor eshaucer : militem, cuius est
manibus seruanda respublica, stuudiosius oportet scientiam dimicandi
usumque rei bellicae [rei .H.] iugibus exercitiis custodire, cui
contingit non tantum gloriosa uictoria sed etiam amplior praeda,
quem ad opes ac dignitates ordo militiae et imperatoris iudicium
consuevit euehere. Car plus ententivement, etc.: I suggest "for
the science of fighting and everyday exercises must be even more
carefully preserved by enforced training; the soldier arrived at
this goal not only through glorious victory but (by acquiring?)
greater booty. The military constitution was exalted, according to
the wishes of the Emperor."

60,14. Ke a richesses...pople : Artifices scaenici [soenici] ab
exercitiis non recedunt pro laude uulgi. The first part of this
sentence has crept in from the preceding sentence of the Latin
original (see above). "Other lower ranks should not, in a search
for popular acclaim, quit their exercises for luxuries and
positions of influence."

60,18. ensement...penser. "in the same way as the old and wise
belief is that one should be continually devoted to all arts."
en penser : in meditatione.

II.25. Enumeratio ferramentorum uel machinarum legionis.

61,15. e ensement...armez : Item decem onagri, hoc est singuli per singulas cohortes, in carpentis bubus portantur armati. The translator fails to give an adequate impression of the size of these machines which according to the original are mounted in carriages and drawn by oxen.

61,18. Ensement...tables sormises : Scaffas quoque de singulis trabibus excavatas cum longissimis funibus et interdum etiam ferreis catenis secum legio portat [portabat], quatenus contextis isdem, sicut dicunt, monoxylis, superiectis etiam tabulatis. Vegetius' clearly-drawn picture of a floating bridge is badly copied in the translation.

61,24. Il out ensement...fichiz : Habet ferreos harpagonas, quos lupos uocant [Habet ferreas quos arpationos lupos uocant], et falces ferreas confixas longissimis contis. "They also have another kind of iron weapon, shaped like a scythe, with very long hooks fixed together (to it?)."

62,1. piçoise...porter : bidentes ligones palas rutra [pala rastra] alueos cofinos, quibus terra portetur.

62,2. coniees...fermez : Habet (quoque) dolabras secures ascias serras, quibus materies ac pali dedolantur [dolantur] atque serrantur.

62,5. ke quant...ordure : qui ad obpugnandas [expugnandas] hostium ciuitates testudines musculos arietes uineas [a.u. faciunt],

ut appellant, turres etiam ambulatorias faciunt. "so that when they have conquered an enemy city they will be able to re-make the vines, and get rid of snails, flies and other dirty things." Here Vegetius' siege-machines apparently mean nothing to the translator, who is happier when they are described at greater length later in the work. His version of the Latin is in this instance most ingenious - but quite mistaken.

BOOK III

63,1. Si comencent...livre. The rubric is repeated in place of the appropriate translation for the title of Chapter I, in the original Qui modus esse debeat exercitus, rendered as La manere de ost des joves chivalers on f.37r. (= p.65).

63,20. Coment...sen : Quemadmodum acies debeat ordinari, ut in conflictu reddatur inuicta. Ratio podismi [potissima], quantum spatium, etc. Ratio in fact begins the title of the following chapter (XV); the headings are confused by the translator.

64,16. Coment...chival : (XXIII) De camelis et catafractis equitibus. (XXIIII) Quomodo quadrigis falcatis uel elephantis in acie possit obsisti. [De camelis et catafractis equitibus uel elephantis in acie qualiter possit obsisti]. There are, correctly, two separate chapters (ff.67v.-69v.) in the French text.

The original has a Preface to Book III (cf. Lang, 64.1-65.12; F.V., ff.114v.-115r.), in which, particularly, the Lacedaemonians are praised for giving Rome a lead in the study of the art of war. Their skill had brought about the downfall of many a Roman general, whether they were directly involved in a military action against a Roman army or merely took posts as tactical advisers to the enemies of Rome. "He, therefore, who desires peace, should prepare for war."

III.1. Qui modus esse debeat exercitus.

65,3. lor haunt : dilectum exercitiumque.

65,4. icist tiers...marine : hic tertius classicum sonat.

classicum, "call to battle" is misunderstood elsewhere (cf. 57.7 note). Its secondary meaning, "relating to the fleet", does not apply here, and naval warfare is not dealt with until the final book.

65,5. Car por ce...aidassent : Ideo enim illa praemissa sunt, ut haec, in quibus peritia certaminum et uictoriae [uictoriarum] summa consistit, disciplinae ordine custodito et intellegerentur celerius et amplius adiuuarent. Perhaps "These things have been spoken of, because those men who have a superior knowledge of fighting for victory have swiftly learnt to observe strict discipline, the better to help themselves".

65,11. Teu manere...d'armes : Huius modus a magistris quaeritur armorum.

Car com Perse...sanz nombre : Nam cum Xerxis et Darii et Mithridatis [xersis et darii uel nutridatis] ceterorumque regum, qui innumerabiles armauerant [amauerant] populos. Perse is merely a miscopying for Xerxes, King of the Persians, who like Darius suffered defeats at the hands of the Greeks.

65,17. ensement...petiz. The sense is "when stretched out in a long column there might be surprise attacks by small parties of the enemy".

65,19. por la destorbaunce...deceu : propter inpedimentorum moras saepe decipitur.

65,20. estre se...alassent : praeterea ingenti labore numerosis animalibus equisque pabula colliguntur. Rei quoque frumentariae difficultas, quae in omni expeditione uitanda est, cito maiores fatigat exercitus. Perhaps "When food for men and beasts becomes scarce, the best thing to do is to mount a major action. Shortage of grain is to be avoided; even the largest armies soon moved on (i.e. in such a case)".

66,2. par plus grant estudie : quantolibet studio.

66,6. ces ke fuiron...doterunt : necesse est...illos, qui effugerint, ut semel [sil'] territos postea formidare conflictum.

66,13. E sovent...ducs : quam manum praetores uelut minores duces ad expeditionem saepe ducebant.

66,14. potestat conseiller : consularis potestas.

66,15. greinor seignor : comes maior.

66,18. .ii. ducs e .ii. esteient enveié del ost : duo duces et duo mittebantur exercitus.

66,24. e por ce...ostz : ideo sufficiebant militum copiae, quia utilius iudicabant non tam grandes exercitus habere quam plures.

The translator seems to be saying that the smaller your army, the more men you will have!

67,2. compaignies aidanz : socialium auxiliarium. i.e. there should not be a greater number of auxiliary troops than of Roman citizens in the army.

III.2. Quemadmodum sanitas gubernetur exercitus.

67,8. ardant : aridis.

67,13. avaunt le chaut : ante luce(m). Vegetius in fact says that in hot weather marches should begin before dawn, and continues by warning against marching by night in wintry conditions (this is excluded by the translator), which can contribute to ill health in a soldier.

67,16. car malveis ewe engendre venim : nam malae aquae potus, ueneno similis, pestilentiam bibentibus generat.

67,18. e nomeement...malades sunt : principiorum tribunorumque et ipsius comitis, qui maiorem sustinet potestatem, iugis quaeritur diligentia; male enim cum his agitur, quibus necessitas (et) belli incumbit et morbi. The original is less concerned with the health

of the army's leading officers than with that of the whole body of men.

67,22. ke ne fesoient les mires. i.e. "than what the doctors could do".

68,4. en tertres e en valeies : in abruptis et fossarum hiatu difficillimis semitis.

68,5. e de lor chivalers : et equos suos.

68,9. E si...maladie : Si autumnali aestiuoque tempore diutius in isdem locis militum multitudo consistat, ex contagione aquarum et odoris ipsius foeditate uitiatibus haustibus et aëre corrupto perniciosissimus nascitur morbus.

III.3. Quanta cura prouidenda sint atque seruanda pabula uel frumenta.

68,14. Ordre...forment : Ordo postulat, ut de commeatu pabulo frumentisque dicatur.

68,19. En chescun...vivre : In omni expeditione unum est et maximum telum, [u.e. ac maximum rectum uel uerum consilium] ut tibi sufficiat uiotus, [ne] hostes frangat inopia.

69,5. E si despenses faillent e moneie : Quod [Et] si tributa deficiunt. Vegetius says that if it is impossible to obtain tributes in kind, money should be demanded instead.

69,8. E si nécessité sourd : Frequenter autem necessitas geminatur [Aut n.g.]. Continuing, the author states that often both besieger and besieged suffer deprivation.

69,11. Estre ce...ceit muscé : Praeterea quicquid in pecore
[pectore] uel quacumque fruge uinoque hostis inferens bellum ad
uictum suum poterit occupare, non solum admonitis [admotis] per
edicta possessoribus sed etiam coactis per electos prosecutores
[executores] ad castella idonea et armatorum firmata praesidiis
uel ad tutissimas conferendum est ciuitates urguendique prouin-
ciales, ut ante inruptionem [incorruptionem] seque et sua moenibus
condant. Por ce bon est, etc. Perhaps "for this reason it is a
good thing to appoint high-ranking officers to the fortresses
(to take charge) of the people and their effects; and everything
should be withdrawn within the walls".

69,18. After nule chose, the translator cuts down his text once
again, omitting a short passage wherein Vegetius warns against
surprise attack and recommends appropriate precautions by which
provisions may be conserved.

69,19. En les plus hauz...se puissent defendre : In expeditionibus
arduus per capita magis militum quam per dignitates ab antiquis
praebebantur annonae, ita ut post necessitatem eisdem a republica
redderentur. Hieme lignorum et pabuli, aestate aquarum uitanda est
difficultas. Frumenti uero et aceti uel uini nec non etiam salis
omni tempore necessitas declinanda, ita ut urbes atque castella ab
his [ab aliis] militibus, qui minus prompti inueniuntur in acie,
armis sagittis fustibalis, fundis etiam et saxis onagris ballis-
tisque defendantur. par les chefs ke par les dignetez:
i.e. "according to the number of heads rather than according to
rank".

70,2. le pais, i.e. "the inhabitants" of such a country. Again ne seit must be understood in this context.

70,5. Por la quele...soverement : Qua ratione famem collecti patiuntur hostes, dispersi uero crebris superuentibus facile uincuntur. In the last part of this sentence the translator again states the opposite to Vegetius.

III.4. Quemadmodum oporteat prouidere [prouideri], ne seditionem milites faciant.

70,9. les chivalers...bataille : Interdum mouet tumultum ex diuersis locis collectus exercitus et, cum pugnare nolit, irasci se simulat, cur non ducatur ad bellum ; quod hi praecipue faciunt, qui in sedibus otiose delicateque uixerunt.

70,14. Ke par auspresse...hardiesce : Nam asperitate insoliti laboris offensi, quem in expeditione necesse est sustinere, praeterea [propterea] metuentes proelium, qui armorum exercitia declinarant, ad eiusmodi praecipitantur audaciam. "For he must sustain himself in action through his anger and the harshness of unaccustomed labour; for those who fear battle and who avoid military exercises are soon upset by a bold action."

70,18. Ke endementers...cruelté : [Ut] Dum adhuc separati [reparati] sunt et in sedibus suis, tribunorum uel uicariorum nec non etiam principiorum [principum] ad omnem disciplinam artissima seueritate teneantur. "So that while they are still

equipped (armed?) and in the quarters of their leaders and lieutenants or in those of other important officers they must be kept disciplined in every way and with the utmost severity."

71,1. cours del champ : Campicursionem.

71,3. E ke il...conveors : nullis commeatibus uacent. Vegetius' strictures on absenteeism are transformed by the translator into a warning against placing too great a trust in one's escorts.

71,4. regarder a lor non. "to answer to their names."

71,11. E ke il...de lor escuz : praeterea siluam caedere, iter per dumos et abrupta facere, materiem dedolare, aperire fossam, occupare aliquem locum et, ne a contubernalibus detrudantur, scutis inuicem obuiantibus niti.

71,16. legions : legionarii.

71,17. serront ensembles...vertu : cum ad expeditionem ex diuersis conuenerint numeris, aemulatione uirtutis proelium magis necesse habeant optare quam otium. "on account of their valour they will have a greater inclination to wish for battle than for idleness."

71,20. de la noise : de tumultu ("of mutiny, revolt").

72,6. por bonté. i.e. "on account of some particular virtue of their own".

72,7. mes il est commu...plusors. "but (revolt) is stirred up by the few who, unpunished for their vices and crimes, hope that others will join them in their crime."

72,9. plus est dreit...blames : rectius est more [mortem] maiorum in auctores criminum uindicari.

72,12. Car plus...tormenz : Laudabiliiores tamen duces [iudices] sunt, quorum exercitum ad modestiam labor et usus instituit, quam illi, quorum milites ad oboedientiam suppliciorum formido compellit.

III.5. Signorum militarium quanta sint genera.

72,18. ou l'em estrive de saunté : ubi de salute certatur. The sense is "in the fight for the general welfare".

73,2. la multitude des choses : regi multitudo. regi = "be guided, directed". Here I think enveié (or tramis(e)) should perhaps be understood after estre.

73,5. solone tens : ex tempore. Understand "according to the circumstances".

73,8. Voueus, e demi-voueus, e mutes : uocalia semiuocalia muta.

73,11. en veilles en bataille : in uigiliis uel in proelio.

73,13. "Deu seit ou vous!" : 'Deus nobiscum'.

73,19. busine...est oi : bucina quae in semet aereo circulo flectitur ; cornu quod ex uris agrestibus, argento nexum, temperatum arte spirituque [temperate arete spiritumque] canentis flatus emittit auditum. Musical instruments constantly baffle the translator (cf. II.22. Notes). Here his self-blowing bucina is ludicrous; and he omits the author's tuba quae directa est appellatur.

73,25. Mut de maneres...plusors : Muta [Multa] signa sunt aquilae dracones uexilla flammulae tufae pinnae [flamule tube pene].

74,5. a garder...auncienement faire : ut dinoscatur hostis, praecipit custodiri; praeterea manu aliquid uel flagello more barbarico uel certe mota [mutata], qua utitur, ueste significat.

A poor translation does not convey the fact that these are special signs to be used by the commander alone.

74,9. Car c'est...bataille : Continuus enim usus necessarius uidetur in pace eius rei, quae in proelii confusione seruanda sit [qui in proelii consensione seruandus sit]. "For this is a regular practice and it is proper to keep to it according to the wishes of him who has charge of the war."

74,11. entrechaunjabable : mutum.

III.6. Quanta sit seruanda cautela, cum uicinis hostibus mouetur exercitus.

75,5. en la compaignie meimes : in ipsa acie.

75,11. cil ki vait avaut. i.e. "the soldier on the march".

75,12. debote en lé : repellat inlatum.

75,13. cheminanz : itineraria.

75,19. deskes...eslu de aler : usque [ad]eo, ut sollertiores [celeriores] duces itineraria prouinciarum, in quibus necessitas gerebatur, non tantum adnotata sed etiam picta habuisse firmentur, ut non solum consilio mentis uerum aspectu oculorum uiam profecturus eligeret. The idea of drawing a plan of the territory

through which the army is to march is not clearly conveyed by the translation.

76,2. E ce deit...plusors choses. The sense is "And he should obtain advice on this point from the most wise and honourable men; he will become well acquainted with the lay of the ground by separately examining them on all points and obtaining a faithful picture from their several accounts".

76,6. por grant peril. "in times of danger."

76,7. ceus ki garderont le pas e les chemins. i.e. "guides for roads and passes". These guides must be carefully selected and warned against trying to escape or committing treason.

76,13. sages hauntauns : sapientes exercitatie.

ke error...compainie : ne duorum aut trium error discrimen pariat uniuersis.

76,18. en espleiz : in expeditionibus.

77,11. Car...demeine : Nam quodammodo ipse sui proditor inuenitur cuius speculator fuerit ab aduersariis comprehensus. The omission in translation of cuius...comprehensus leaves the statement without point.

77,12. en batailles. The army is on the march. No reference to battle-order is here made in the original.

77,13. e les archers...miliu : inpedimenta sagmarii [sagitarii] calones uehiculaque in medio conlocentur.

77,16. Mes a costé...encoursent : A lateribus quoque pari armatorum manu inpedimenta claudenda sunt; nam insidiatores [n.i, in alio

loco impulsant] transuersos frequenter incursant. "But troubles on the flank are to be put down by an equal body of armed men; for those lying in wait somewhere along the route often attack laterally, repelling and breaking into the flank." In the preceding sentence the translator fails to emphasise the argument of Vegetius that the rear of the column is more often attacked than the van.

78,2. Por ce...doutes estre : Ne uero repentinus tumultus amplius noceat, ante commonendi sunt milites, ut parati sint animo, ut arma in manibus habeant; in necessitate subita conterrent [que terrent], prouisa non solent esse formidini. Antiqui diligentissime praecauebant, etc. "Before the soldiers set out they should be well prepared, with weapons in hand, so that a sudden disturbance does no more harm than frighten them; old and ingrained fears were generally not well provided for."

78,7. de archer...destorbaunces : a calonibus interdum uulneratis interdum timentibus et sagmariis [sagittariis] clamore pauefactis.

78,10. E por ce...nient plus : Et ideo ad exemplum militum etiam impedimenta sub quibusdam signis ordinanda duxerunt. Denique ex ipsis calonibus, quos galiarios uocant, idoneos ac peritos usu legebant, quos non amplius quam ducentis sagmariis [sagenariis] puerisque praeficerent.

78,16. signes : uexilla.

78,17. Mes les combatauns...bataille. "But the active soldiers are separated by some distance from the baggage; for men who were closely bunched were wounded in the fighting."

78,23. ou en plasseis ou en valeies. Translator's addition.

79,4. car...eschapent : continuo enim hostes interpellata [interpolata] peruadunt. The original has the enemy penetrating into the lines, whereas in translation they apparently break out from the ranks of the opposing forces.

79,5. Por ce...premerement : Praeponendi ergo sunt exercitatisissimi campidoctores uicarii uel tribuni, qui alacriores retardent et pigrius incedentes adcelerare compellant.

79,8. ceus ke serront devant : qui multum praecesserint.

79,9. repeirer. "rejoin the column."

79,11. par poer...desperance : ui hostium et propria desperatione superantur.

79,15. privez choses : secreta. Phillips has "concealed danger".

79,17. e quant...soffrir : deprehensa uero subsessa, si circumueniatur utiliter, plus periculi (sustinet), quam parabat inferre.

The sense is obscure; perhaps "once the ambushers are spotted, there is greater danger in making preparations to suffer (their attacks), when it is possible to overcome them without too much trouble".

80,6. ou a hure de manger : hora reficiendi lassis.

80,9. ou archers ou arblasters : utrum contatis an sagittariis.

ou si il...adversaries : utrum [u. in] numero hominum an armorum munitione [minutatione] praecellant, scire nos conuenit et ordinare quod nobis utile, illis docetur aduersum. "or if the enemy have more armed men than they themselves have; all this must be learnt and then measures taken which are envisaged to

benefit themselves and set back the enemy."

80,12. combien...de jour : per diem an per noctem iter expediat inchoari.

80,16. ou de autre...destiné : et impedito itinere circumueniatur exercitus, priusquam ad destinata perueniat. The translator's suggestion that the army should be drawn up in some sort of special order shortly before arriving at their destination is a novel one.

80,18. Si com nostre...les ecchapez. "Just as it is to our advantage to prudently avoid these things, similarly, if a foolish action or negligence on the part of the enemy should give us the chance, we should not fail to take it, but watch out carefully for (their) traitors and welcome (their) deserters."

80,23. e deceivre...armeure : paratisque equitibus ac leui armatura ambulantes eosdem uel pabula uictumque quaerentes inproviso terrore decipere. "and surprise, before their fear gives them time to defend themselves, those on horse or on foot who are seeking forage and provisions for the horses or for the lightly-armed troops." Again the translator confuses the one side with the other, so that Vegetius' Roman cavalry and light infantry to be used in this sort of skirmish are all transposed to the enemy camp.

III.7. Quemadmodum flumina, quae maiora sunt, transeantur.

81,2. a negligenz...ewes. i.e. to those who fail to take precautions before crossing rivers.

81,4. granz destorbemenz...cointes : inpedimenta pueros et ipsos

interdum ignauiores solet [in]mergere bellatores.

81,6. dous compaignies : duae acies. The image Vegetius intends to present is of a double line of horsemen across the ford, with the rest of the army passing between them, with the baggage (et inpedimenta, translated as sanz destorbance).

81,10. plus souveraine. i.e. "up-river".

81,12. E quant...legerement : At[que] cum altior fluctus nec peditem nec equitem patitur, si per plana decurrat, ductis multifariam spargitur fossis diuisusque facile transitur. The trenches are in fact to be cut by the soldiers themselves so that some of the water may be drawn off and the crossing made possible.

81,15. E a la fie...meuz passer : Nauigeri uero amnes stilis [hastilis] fixis ac [uel] superpositis tabulatis peruii fiunt uel certe tumultuario opere colligatis inanibus cupis additisque trabibus transitum praebent.

81,19. gent a chival...après eus : Expediti uero equites fasces de cannis aridis uel ulua facere consueuerunt, super quos loricas et arma, ne uidentur [armarie uidentur], inponunt; ipsi equique [ipsis equitibus quos] natando transeunt colligatosque (secum) fasces pertrahunt loris [socios].

81,21. Ou ces engins...sanz demore. The monoxilles are a kind of small boat hollowed out of a log. The original describes at greater length how they may be lashed together and planks nailed on top of them to form a solid and serviceable bridge. The translation from line 12 is no more than a highly inaccurate précis of the original, with the more 'technical' terms as usual accounting for the greatest difficulties.

82,3. Neporquant...le demaunde : Cautius tamen est sudes ex utraque parte praefigere ac sine detrimento, si qua uis inlata fuerit, sustinere. Quod si pons non tantum at transitum sed etiam ad recursum et commeatus necessarius fuerit [f. sustinere], tunc in utroque capite percussis latioribus fossis aggereque constructo defensores milites debet accipere, a quibus tamdiu teneatur, quamdiu locorum necessitas postulat. "Nevertheless it is wiser to fix stakes and planks on each side, without being any the worse for it, so that if it should happen that there be no bridge to cross by and if the trenches they have dug should be exceptionally broad, a bridge may be built on returning, etc."

III.8. Quemadmodum castra debeant ordinari.

82,11. Car ne l'em trove...de chivals condenses a somewhat longer passage in the original.

82,17. ke nul...sorvient. "so that if the enemy comes along, he should have no chance of a better position."

83,3. ke il...destorbance : ne sit in abruptis ac deuuis et circumsedentibus aduersariis difficilis praestetur egressus.

83,7. si com meuz...de la laor : nec utilitati praeiudicat forma, tamen pulchriora creduntur quibus ultra latitudinis spatium tertia pars longitudinis additur. Perhaps "the camp looks its finest when at least a third of its length measures more than its breadth".

83,9. En teu manere...as herbergeries. "Thus the exact numbers of the army for the encampment should be collected by the agrimensores."

83,11. Car les...en lé : Nam propugnatores angusta constipant et ultra quam conuenit latiora diffundunt. "For the soldiers will strain a confined space, and are spread out more than necessary in a wide one."

83,14. Premere ment...adrescez : Primum in unius noctis transitum et itineris occupationem leuiorem, cum sublatis caespites ordinantur et aggerem faciunt, supra quem ualli, hoc est sudes uel tribuli lignei, per ordinem digerentur. "First for an overnight halt, when one is concerned with the roots of trees, (the camp being entrenched) more easily when the way has been cleared of the roots; thus the men shall dig a trench above which stakes and poles are to be set up."

83,17. Les estocs...de haut : Caespes autem circumciditur ferramentis, qui herbarum radicibus continet terram, fit altus semissem, latus pedem [f. autem altus semilatus p.], longus pedem semis. The translator misunderstands caespes ("turf") throughout, generally rendering it as "tree-stump" or "tree-root". Here the sense is "The tree-stumps, together with earth held together by the roots of grass (around them), are to be torn up by appropriate tools".

83,20. Ke si la terre...trenchez : Quod si terra solutior fuerit, ut ad similitudinem lateris caespes non possit abscidi.

"If the earth is looser, on one side perhaps, so that the stumps

may be cut." The translator produces a text which has little bearing on the fortification of camps as described in the original Latin.

83,24. E issi deivent les herbergeries : Statua [Studia] autem castra.

84,3. Car touz...ou de .xi. pés : Nam singulae centuriae, diuidentibus campidoctoribus et principiis, accipiunt pedaturas et, scutis uel sarcinis suis in orbem circa propria signa dispositis, cincti gladio fossam aperiunt latam aut nouem [.viii.] aut undecim aut tredecim pedibus. Measures are again faultily given in the French text; eight (for nine) feet is also in the F.V. Latin; the alternative measurement of breadth of thirteen feet is not included in the translation.

84,10. E quant...branches : tunc saepibus [sepius] ductis uel interpositis stipitibus ramisque arborum.

84,13. Le gardain...noblement parfaites : Opus uero centuriones decempedis metiuntur [decem pedes metuntur], ne minus foderit aut errauerit alicuius ignauia, et tribuni circumeunt nec ante discedunt qui strenui sunt, quam fuerint uniuersa perfecta.

85,1. par les queus...fichir son pavilon : quibus per contubernales deputatos ad munera aqua lignum et pabula ministrantur. Tunc pro gradu legionibus et auxiliis, equitibus et peditibus loca, in quibus papiliones tendant, deputantur in castris. The tribunes appoint the soldiers for the special services first mentioned above.

85,7. ke touz gaitassent. In fact Vegetius declares it impossible for one man to remain on guard for a whole night.

85,9. en treis parties. Translator's addition.

85,10. primes...le corn : A tubicine omnes uigiliae committuntur et finitis horis a cornicine reuocantur.

85,14. e ces sunt...chivalers : quos circumitores appellabant; nunc militiae factus est gradus et circitores uocantur. The translator fails to appreciate ^{the} historical differentiation of Vegetius between the earlier circumitores and the circitores of the fourth century. These men who visit the various posts are again appointed by the tribunes.

85,16. dehors le val : extra uallum ("outside the fortifications"). The cavalry guards do not stay inside the camp during the daytime; according to the original it is then that they furnish the outposts - hence the fatigue mentioned on l. 18.

85,19. Entre ces choses...ou les herbergeries paraphrases, but keeps the sense of the original.

85,23. par noble lius : per loca idonea. sauf conduit. "escort".

85,24. E si...lor nuns : Quod si non reperitur antiqua munitio, oportunis locis circumdata maioribus fossis tumultuaria castella firmanantur. Nam a castris diminutio uocabula sunt nuncupata castella. Vegetius' derivation is scarcely evident in translation.

III.9. Quae et quanta consideranda sint, ut intellegatur, utrum superuentibus [superuenientibus] (et) insidiis an publico debeat Marte conflagri.

86,10. si ascuns...combatre : Quisquis hos artis bellicae

commentarios ex probatissimis auctoribus breuiatos legere dignabitur,
quam primum rationem proelii depugnandique cupit audire praecepta.

"if someone disdains to take up these general comments on the art of war which have been abridged by illustrious authors (sic), wishing rather to receive instruction on the correct methods of giving battle."

86,15. puis ke...cherra : post quem partis eius, quae superata
[parti seuis superataque] fuerit, spes omnes intercidunt. "for one side is defeated, with only a bitter hope that the other will fall."

87,8. E ensement...meillors : Quaerendum [est] etiam, utra pars
equites, utra pedites habeat meliores, sciendumque in peditibus
uel maxime consistere robur exercitus; et inter ipsos equites,
quis conta-tis, quis sagittariis antecedit, quis plures loricas
induat, quis utiliores [meliores] equos adduxerit.

87,21. car endementers...aler s'en : interdum enim sperat
aduersarius expeditionem cito posse finiri et, si dilatus fuerit
in longum, aut penuria maceratur aut desiderio suorum reuocatur
ad propria aut nihil magnum faciens per desperationem abire con-
pellitur. ou il guide, etc. "on the other hand he may worry about being defeated by want, or may accept a reconciliation at the wishes of his men, or through inactivity may be forced to leave the field in despair of success."

87,25. E puis...poveres : Tum fracti labore et taedio plurimi
deserunt, aliquanti produnt, aliquanti se tradunt, quia aduersis
[que aduersariis] rebus rarior fides est et nudari incipit qui
copiosus aduenerat.

88,4. combatans. i.e. "inclined to fight."

88,7. e queus les aides...hardiesce : nostra auxilia cuius fidei
quarumque sint uirium; quos animos illius copiae, quos habeat
noster exercitus. This passage also refers to the Imperial troops,
and not only to their opponents.

88,11. ke il ne seient...gent ne sunt : si nihil ipse timere
uideatur, crescit animus, si ex insidiis uel occasione aliquid
fortiter feceris, si hostibus aduersae res coeperint euenire, si
uel infirmiores aut minus armatos ex inimicis potueris superare.

"(For dejected soldiers may be emboldened by encouragement from
their general, and,) in order that they may lose their earlier
fear, if you act firmly, they themselves will take heart and find
new courage; and then you should find out if your adversaries
meet with any setbacks or if you can defeat them owing either to
sickness in their camp or to the fact that they are poorly armed
compared with your own men."

88,21. car les jovesnes...combatre : nam pro tironibus accipiendi
sunt qui pugnare longo tempore desierunt. Not only "les jovesnes
chivalers", but any soldier unused to fighting must to some extent
be treated as a recruit.

89,1. par tote...nobles : per tribunos electos, quorum scitur
industria.

89,6. le quel ke il...sanz mal engin : utrum ad tubarum monita,
ad signorum indicia, ad praecepta uel nutum suum diligenter obtem-
perent. Si errant [errantur] in aliquibus, exerceantur atque

doceantur, quamdiu possint esse perfecti. Si uero in campicursione,
in sagittando, in iaculando, in ordinanda acie ad plenum fuerint
eruditi, ne sic quidem temere sed occasione capta ad publicam
ducendi sunt pugnam; sed ante minoribus proeliis inuendi. The
last five words are left untranslated.

sanz mal engin. "without recourse to underhand means."

89,14. e deit tous jors...de autre : tamquam de ciuili causa inter
partes iudicaturus.

III.10. Quid oporteat fieri si quis desuetum a pugna exercitum
habeat uel tironem.

90,8. e l'empire...cel art : propagantur [propagatur] prouinciae,
conseruatur imperium.

90,11. e uncore hui...ki la suit : hanc solam hodieque barbari
putant esse seruandam; cetera aut in hac arte consistere omnia
aut per hanc adsequi se posse confidunt. ou quident, etc. "or
this is what they who follow it believe" (gent may be used both as
a singular and as a plural).

90,15. Por ce li dustres...par glorie : Dux ergo, cui tantae
potestatis insignia tribuuntur, cuius fidei atque uirtuti possessorum
[possessore] fortunae, tutela urbium, salus militum, reipublicae
creditur gloria. "Thus the general...in his glory is considered
to represent the common people."

90,20. por totes les compaignies : pro singulis contubernilibus.

91,2. e des banerés : necnon etiam uexillationum.

91,4. E si deit...en bataille : Sciat etiam, si potest fieri, nominatim, quis comes, quis tribunus, quis domesticus, quis contubernalis quantum possit in bello.

91,9. e si deit...occasions : in diuersis locis, in diuersis occasionibus omnium experimenta praecipiat.

91,12. E quant...hardiesce lor cresse : cum dispersi ad praedandum securi oberrant [securiores exhiberunt] hostes, tunc probatos equites siue pedites cum tironibus aut inferioribus mittat, ut ex occasione fuis inimicis et illis peritia et reliquis crescat audacia. "And when they (the enemy) are widely dispersed, the general shall send out picked and proven detachments of cavalry and infantry with the young soldiers or recruits who are to engage with the enemy; through the experience of these older soldiers the younger ones will be emboldened and the enemy may be preyed upon in greater safety."

91,16. A passages...deit il enquere : Ad transitus fluuiorum, ad praecipitia montium, ad siluarum angustias, ad paludum aut uiarum difficultates superuentus nullo sciente disponat atque (ita) iter suum temperet, ut cibum capientes aut dormientes aut uacantes certe, securos inermes discalciatos, destratis [distractis] equis, nihil suspicantes ipse paratus inuadat, quatenus in huius(modi) certaminibus sui fiduciam colligant. Once again the translator confuses the Romans and their enemies. Vegetius outlines the most suitable opportunities for attacking the enemy, so that inexperienced soldiers may gain self-confidence from a not-too-difficult engagement. The translator takes the same passage and relates it to the general's care of his own men.

91,18. e ordiner ke nul ne sache. "and make sure that the enemy suspects nothing."

91,19. e la endreit torner son chemin. "to this end he should apply himself."

92,10. Car les choses...profiteront. "For such things should first be tried which, if done badly, do not cause too much harm, and if accomplished well, are of great advantage."

92,13. Car nul corouz...feintises : Nulla enim quamvis minima natio potest ab aduersariis perdeleri, nisi propriis simultatibus se ipsa consumpserit. Perhaps "So long as we do not bring about our own downfall by internal schemings, nothing the enemy can do will completely assuage our anger, no matter how mild it appears".

92,15. Car civile hange...defension : Nam ciuile odium ad inimicorum perniciem praeceptum est, ad utilitatem suae defensionis incautum. "For civil, or internal, dissensions cause the downfall of one's enemies and are of assistance to one's own defence."

92,18. les choses ke sunt faites. "what has already been accomplished."

Aucun dira...maindre ens : Dicat aliquis; Multi anni sunt, quibus nullus fossa aggere ualloeque mansurum circumdat exercitum.

92,21. Si ceste...herbergeries : Si fuisset ista cautela, [nobis] nihil nocturni aut diurni superuentus hostium nocere potuissent. Persae [per se] imitantes Romanos ductis fossis castra constituunt, etc. Owing to a miscopying, the translator misses the reference of Vegetius to the Persians; so that touz 93,1 should properly refer to the Persian camps, which would often be pitched on sandy terrain.

93,3. Touz les estranges...herbergeries : Omnes barbari carris [caris] suis in orbem conexis ad similitudinem castrorum securas a superuentibus exigunt noctes. chers amis is a comic mistranslation of carris suis, and the translator completely misses the point of the defensive value of a circle of baggage-wagons.

93,6. Nous dotom...nous. Vegetius more explicitly poses a question: Veremur, ne discere nequeamus quae a nobis alii didicerunt?

93,15. Scipio...garda : Scipio Africanus (sub aliis imperatoribus Hispanienses exercitus) frequenter uictos accepit.

93,18. ke il dit, etc. What Scipio actually said was that if they would not soil their hands with the blood of their enemies, they would have to soil them with the mud of the trenches.

93,20. E a la fin : Cum ipsis denique. It was by these very men, reformed and re-disciplined, that the city was in fact rased.

93,21. Metellus... e des autres : Metellus in Africa Albino imperante subiugatum accepit exercitum, quem ita emendauit ueteribus institutis, ut postea eos, a quibus sub iugum missi fuerant, superarent. Cimbri Caepionis et Mallii [Scipionis et Manlii] legiones intra Gallias deleuerant; quarum reliquias cum Gaius Marius suscepisset, ita erudiuit scientia et arte pugnandi, ut innumerabilem multitudinem non solum Cimbrorum sed etiam Teutonum et Ambrorum [umbrorum] publico Marte deleret. As might have been expected, this passage proves too much for the translator, who has Metellus' African armies defeating Burgundian legions in France. References to comparatively obscure Gallic tribes are avoided.

III.11. Quae ipso die procuranda sint, quo publica committitur pugna.

94,9. Avant lessez...destinables : Praemissis leuioribus artibus belli, (ad publici) conflictus incertum et ad fatalem diem nationibus ac populis ratio disciplinae militaris inuitat. "Having already treated the lighter aspects of the art of war, the author then summons, according to the military discipline, all nations and peoples to the fateful day and the uncertainty of open battle."

94,12. Car la plenitudine...bataille : Nam in euentu aperti [apti] Martis uictoriae plenitudo consistit. "For a decisive victory depends upon the event of a suitable opportunity for battle."

94,14. E por ce...defaute de saver : Hoc ergo tempus est, quo tanto magis duces debent esse solliciti, quanto maior speratur diligentibus gloria et maius periculum comitatur ignauos, in quo (momento peritiae) usus, pugnandi doctrina consiliumque dominatur.

"Therefore, this is the time when the leaders need to observe even more carefully how much more glory is expected of them by their men, and how much greater is the danger to the ignorant; teaching and instruction should be of the utmost importance, for those who fight in a slack manner die through their lack of knowledge."

94,20. plus sachanz. Vegetius certainly does not suggest that a soldier's knowledge or intelligence may be improved simply by eating a meal.

95,2. par les estreites portes. The translation omits the following ne...a collectis et paratis debilitetur inimicis, which

makes the sense clearer. An army is, naturally, highly vulnerable when filing through narrow gateways, when its comparative disorder makes it an easy prey for the enemy.

95,5. Qe s'il sunt...sospris : Quod si intra ciuitatem manentibus paratus aduenerit, aut differatur egressus aut certe dissimuletur, ut, cum aduersarii insultare coeperint his, quos non putant exituros, cum ad praedam aut (ad) redeundum conuerterint [conuenerint] animum, cum ordines soluerint, tunc illis stupentibus lectissimi [letissimi] quique prorumpant et conferti adgrediantur ignaros. Yet again the translator confuses the opposing armies. Here he describes a successful attack by enemy forces on the defenders of a city, where Vegetius originally suggests a method of taking an enemy by surprise by sallying out of a camp or city.

95,15. Les aunciens...en bataille : Hoc et ueteres declinarunt [declinauerunt] et superiore uel nostra aetate, cum Romani duces per inperitiam non cauissent, ne quid amplius dicam, exercitus didicerunt. Inpar enim condicio est lassum cum requieto, sudantem cum alacri, currentem cum eo, qui steterit, subire conflictum. The translation makes nonsense of what Vegetius is trying to say, namely that the ancients took care to ensure that their armies were completely fresh and prepared for battle.

III.12. Inuestigandum, quid sentiant milites pugnaturi.

96,3. car la bataille...coviient : inexpertis enim dulcis [in experto enim ducis] est pugna. The sense is "for the battle is in the hands of the general, and rightly so".

96,5. les combatanz ke sunt en mi : exercitati bellatores.

96,8. si teus...victorie : praecipue si futuri certaminis talem acceperint rationem, qua sperent (se facile) ad uictoriam peruenturos.

96,11. E donc...pensers : Dicenda etiam [sunt] quibus militum mentes in odium aduersariorum ira et indignatione moueantur.

96,15. Car sanz doute...pensers : Sine dubio autem infirmiores sunt quorum mentes ipse confundit aspectus. le regard, i.e. "the sight of the enemy".

96,19. E si...doté : Interdum audeant [audiant] aliquid ex occasione : aut fugent [fugiant] aut interimant inimicos; [inimicorum] mores aduersariorum, arma, equos recognoscat. Nam quae ex usu [qui exusi] sunt non timentur. The original passage has a rough phraseological sequence which the translation, owing to miscopyings, does not follow. Thus we have three isolated and apparently unrelated sentences at the end of the chapter.

III.13. Quemadmodum idoneus locus eligatur ad pugnam.

97,2. Bon dustre...combatre : Bonum ducem conuenit nosse magnam partem uictoriae ipsum locum, in quo dimicandum est, possidere.

97,4. Car profitable lu...o le enem. The sense of this passage is at first somewhat obscure. It may be translated: "For an advantageous position is very valuable, and the higher it is, the more advantageous it is to occupy it. For missiles may be thrown with greater vigour on those exposed below; and by a heavier onslaught the higher party oppresses those defending. Whoever attacks

a high position, with both the ground and the enemy against him has twice the struggle on his hands".

97,13. After genz a chival, the translator omits sequi debes paulo quidem editiora loca. According to Vegetius the cavalry as well as the infantry benefits from higher ground.

III.14. Quemadmodum acies debeat ordinari, ut in conflictu reddatur inuicta.

98,1. le vent...enemis : uentus contrarius tua inflectit ac deprimit, hostium adiuuat tela.

98,3. Ces choses...combatre : Haec momento eo, quo acies ordinantur, etiam imperiti uitare solent, sed duci prouido cauendum est in futurum, ne post paululum accedente die noceat solis mutata conuersio, ne uentus aduersus hora solita eo pugnante nascatur.

98,10. ost bien apris : exercitus instructus.

98,16. ke il apeloient devant princes : quos antea principes uocabant.

98,17. en le second...launces : in secundo ordine circumdati catafractis sagittarii et optimi milites cum spiculis uel lanceis ordinantur, quos prius hastatos uocabant. The translator omits the earlier Latin term for this second line of troops, although he has translated the principes of l. 17 as princes.

98,19. tuz autres....iii. pés : Singuli autem armati in directum ternos pedes inter se occupare consue^{ue}runt.

98,21. issi ke...compaignies : nec acies interluceat.

99,2. usuele gent : usu confidentes.

99,5. ne il ne deivent pas destorber les ordres : ne [nec] ordines turbent.

99,7. enchacer. The sense must be "repel", since the first two lines are composed of heavy troops who must stand firm in an engagement.

99,9. Le quart ordre...leger armeure : Quartus item ordo construitur de scutatis expeditissimis, de sagittariis iunioribus [munitioribus], de his, qui alacriter uerutis uel mattiobarbulis [ueritatis uel martio barbulis], quas plumbatas nominant [uocant], dimicant, qui dicebantur leuis armatura.

99,16. e bien serront a chival e les suieront : ipsi cum equitibus persecuntur [persequuntur]. The third and fourth lines are not mounted. The cavalry, however, joins them in the event of a pursuit.

99,19. La premere...bataille : Prima autem et secunda acies, cum ad spathas et ad pila, ut dicitur, uentum fuerit, totum sustinet bellum. The sense is "When they (i.e. the repelled lines of light infantry) return to the standard, the first and second ranks sustain the brunt of the battle".

99,20. En la quarte compaignie, etc. : In quinta [quarta] acie ponebantur interdum carroballistae et manuballistarii fundibulatores funditores. (Vegetius goes on to describe in greater detail the respective functions of the fundibulatores and funditores.) The translator has already informed us that the fourth line contains archers and lightly-armed soldiers. He now adds to them a second body of troops, who should properly form the fifth line.

99,23. Le quint ordre : Sextus ordo. This final line of resistance is composed of veteran troops, quos antiqui triarios appellabant.

100,1. E les enemis...compainies : Hi, ut [Hii et] requieti et integri acrius inuaderent hostes, post ultimas acies sedere consueuerant. The translation offered, "the enemies customarily took up a position to the rear of the hindmost ranks", is nonsense.

100,4. de lor forces. i.e. of the sixth line; much depended on the strength of this line.

III.15. Ratio podismi [podissimi], quantum spatium in acie inter singulos homines in longum uel inter singulos ordines in latum debeat custodiri.

100,11. c'est l'espace, etc. The sense is "that is to say the distances and dimensions pertaining to those dispositions just outlined".

100,14. noef mile vinteines e .xvi. de gent a pé : nouem milia nongenti nonaginta sex pedites [.viii. milia uiginti .x.cv. pedites].

100,15. E si vous...en treis : Si autem in terno hunc numerum uolueris tendere.

100,18. Nous diom...estanz : Senos pedes a tergo inter singulas acies in latum diximus interpatere debere, et ipsi [et illos] bellatores stantes singulos obtinent pedes.

101,1. E por ce...homes : Ideoque si sex acies ordinaueris,
quadraginta duo pedes in latum et mille passus in longum [et]
decem milium hominum tenebit exercitus. The translator is
most careless with his numbers. He writes .lxii. for the Latin
text's .xlii. (Bourdon de Sigrais, on p.36 of his "Remarques",
comments upon his own figure of thirty-six feet: "Dans le latin
il y a quarante-deux pieds; ce qui est une faute. Six rangs à
six pieds l'un de l'autre, ne donnent que trente pieds pour les
intervalles, & six pour l'épaisseur des rangs, à un pied supposé
pour chaque rang. Apparemment que les Copistes avoient compté
six intervalles pour six rangs.") For decem milium the trans-
lation has .xx. mile; confusion is complete.

101,3. A ceste reison...ordeiner : Ad hanc rationem, siue
uiginti milia siue triginta (milia) peditum fuerint, iuxta
mensurae podismum sine aliqua difficultate poterunt [podissimum
s.a. dubitatione difficultates potuerint] ordinari.

101,14. ou ke il gardent...enemis : uel iuxta dignitates eorum
seruatur ex more, uel certe pro qualitate hostium commutatur.
Perhaps "or whether they should keep to their ranks as usual or
all draw together in the light of the enemy's relative strength".

III.16. De equitibus ordinandis.

101,20. ki sunt bien armez : contati [concitati].

101,21. joint ensemble sanz gent a pé : iuncti sint peditibus
[iuncti sine pedibus].

102,1. e les plus ignels...defendre : et a uelocioribus atque expeditis hostium cornua superfundenda atque turbanda. According to the original, the heavy horse guards the infantry flanks, whereas the light horse harasses the enemy's wings. The translator agrees with the function of the heavy, but omits the light horse altogether, leaving the infantry to guard their own wings.

102,3. Li princes...a chival : Scire dux debet, contra quos drungos, hoc est globos, hostium quos equites oporteat poni.

102,8. Ke si les genz...ost : Quod si equites inpares fuerint, more ueterum uelocissimi cum scutis leuibus pedites ad hoc ipsum exercitati isdem miscendi sunt, quos [q. explicitos] uelites nominabant. The translator's "peerless infantry" for "deficient cavalry" must obviously hopelessly disguise the original meaning.

102,12. la compaignie ke fu medllé ensemble. i.e. in the original Vegetian sense, cavalry mixed with light infantry. The translation does not make this at all clear.

102,13. Un remedie...launces : Unum hoc remedium omnes duces ueteres inuenerunt, ut adsuefacerent iuuenes currentes egregie et inter binos equites singulos ex his pedites conlocarent cum leuioribus scutis gladiis atque missibilibus. The remedy has in fact already been outlined in the preceding lines of text. Note once again the appalling inaccuracy shown in copying figures; in the original, one light foot-soldier is placed between two horsemen.

III.17. De subsidiis, quae post aciem conlocantur.

103,6. After Lacedemoneis, the original continues imitati sunt Karthaginienses, which the translator omits.

103,9. Si compaignie...avant mené fortement : Si cuneus sit agendus aut forfex, superfluos habere debebis post aciem, de quibus cuneum uel forficem facias. Si ducenda sit serra, item ex abundantibus ducitur. The translator makes a poor attempt at defining the wedge, pincers and saw on page 107 (lines 4-16).

103,16. si vous n'elez assez de gent : nisi superfluos habeas.

103,21. plus petite compaignie : aciem...breuiorem.

103,22. entour les meimes parties : circa medias partes.

104,3. o croks : contatis.

III.18. In quo loco primus dux stare debeat, in quo secundus, in quo tertius.

104,11. dreit cours e franc cours : ex quo rectus est liberque procursus.

104,15. la destre...adversaires : aduersariorum sinistrum cornum, qui contra ipsum stat.

104,19. Icestui...o son coing : Hic fortissimos pedites et bene armatos de illis superfluis secum habere debet, ex quibus aut ipse cuneum (faciat et hostium aciem rumpat aut, si aduersarii cuneum) fecerint, ipse forficem faciat, ut [et] cuneo illi possit occurrere. "He shall have with him strong and well-armed

infantry, or a body of reserves which may be formed into a wedge; and he shall form a pincers, so that he may counteract the enemy's wedge."

105,3. por ce ke...maunche : quia sinistra pars difficilior est et uelut manca [manicam] in acie consistit. pensant may well be a miscopying of pesant.

105,6. des queus...enemis : de quibus sinistrum cornum semper extendat, ne circumueniatur ab hostibus. As in 104,15, the right and left wings are confused.

105,7. Le cri : Clamor autem, quem barritum [barbari tunc] uocant. The sense is that you should not give your war-cries until you have actually joined battle with the enemy.

105,12. aprendre vostre compaignie avaut. What the original says is that care should be taken to draw up one's lines in order of battle before the enemy does so : ut prior [prius] instruas aciem.

105,14. enaprés...ne doutent pas : deinde et tuis auges confidentiam et aduersariis (fiduciam) minuis, quia fortiores uidentur qui prouocare non dubitant. "then you should increase your men's confidence, which will be good for you and bad for the enemy; for those who have no fear and who conquer may often be less strong."

105,20. petite destorbance faire : inimicum turbare.

III.19. Quibus remediis uirtuti uel dolis hostium resistatur
in acie.

The passage forspris sorvenans...owele condicion (106, 3-12) is contained in the previous chapter of the Lang edition, where Ch. 19 begins Tamen ars belli, etc. (Nequedent art de bataille, 1.13). The Fitzwilliam Latin text also includes the passage in the present chapter.

106,3. forspris sorvenans...ou il se lassent : exceptis superuentibus [superuenientibus] uel incursionibus repentinis ex occasione, quam numquam dux exercitatus amittit : nam in itineribus iam fatigatis, etc. (Vegetius goes on to describe where and when the enemy may best be attacked.) "except when they make sudden surprise attacks, perhaps while you are on the march. The general is never absent from his army."

106,10. mes si...owele condicion : Quod si cauti sint aduersarii et insidiarum nulla sit copia, tunc aduersum [-us] praesentes scientes uidentes aequa condicione pugnatur. "The enemy may have no look-out, but if they are watchful they soon notice the presence of their opponents, and thus fight on equal terms."

106,14. en privez traions. "in concealed stratagems."

106,17. e ke vous seiez...moncels : Cauendum...ne...circumueniantur tui [tuti] a multitudine hostium (aut) a uagantibus [aut] globis, quos dicunt drungos. cf. 102,3 note.

106,19. E si...derere : Quod si acciderit, unum remedium est, ut alam cornumque [cornuque] replicas et rotundes, quatenus conuersi

tui sociorum terga defendant.

107,1. en la dereine aungle : in angulo ipsius extremitatis.

107,3. la compaignie des enemis : cuneum hostium.

107,5. com en ayde. Translator's addition.

107,7. por ce ke...en un lu. "because there are a large number of men forming it who all direct their missiles to one particular point."

107,10. e serra departi en .v. : in V litteram ordo componitur.

107,11. lor compaignie, dont je vous di avant : illum cuneum.

107,14. c'est une compaignie...reparailee. "The saw is a body of fine soldiers directed in a straight line at the enemy's front, so that one's own disordered line may be repaired."

107,16. Uncore...suera après : Globus autem dicitur qui a sua acie [quia sua arte] separatus uago superuentu incursat inimicos, contra quem alter populosior uel fortior inmittitur [imitetur] globus. The translation fails to convey the picture of roving platoons which are detached from the rest of the army (and should therefore function without sorvenue de ayde), and which are ready to fall upon the enemy at the slightest opportunity.

III.20. Quot generibus pugna publica committatur et quomodo etiam qui inferior numero et uiribus est ualeat obtinere.

108,5. Une bataille...ost : Una depugnatio est fronte longa quadro exercitu (= a rectangular formation, with a long front).

- 108,7. Mais ceste...compaignie deceu : Sed hoc genus depugnationis periti armorum non optimum [optimi] iudicant, quia, in prolixo spatio cum tenditur [contenditur] acies, non aequalis semper campus occurrit, et si hiatus aliqui [et hiat a'd] in medio uel sinus aut curuatura fit, [et] in eo loco acies frequenter inrumpitur. "Those with some knowledge of military matters, not necessarily those with the most skill, carry out this plan of battle. The formation needing plenty of space, it is not always easy to find a level plain where it may be drawn up without some impediment in the middle or on the flanks or without the hindrance that a confined area represents, such drawbacks often being the downfall of the company."
- 108,12. Estre ce...senestre : Praeterea, si multitudine [similitudine] aduersarius antecedit, a lateribus aut dextram aut sinistram alam circumuenit. "Furthermore the enemy may feign a forward or lateral move, and surprise him on the right or left."
- 108,14. sorvenans : supernumerarios.
- 108,16. ceste manere. i.e. this first formation.
- 108,18. La seconde bataille est commune : Secunda depugnatio est obliqua [publica].
- 108,20. e ke vous seiez...enemis : etiam si multitudine [similitudine] hostium et uirtute turberis.
- 108,23. les compaignies bien apprises : instructae acies.
- 109,2. ke il ne puissent, etc. The sense is that the left wing will in this way be out of range of missiles from the enemy's right.

109,9. e la partie...seurement. "and that part (i.e. the left) of your army which you have preserved from the enemy will remain secure."

109,12. a la manere de ceste lettre A; no translation is offered for the following uel libellae [u. belli] fabrilis ("like a carpenter's level").

109,13. ceus ki sunt outre nombre : supernumerarios.

109,20. Car lor assault...espleit : Nam quasi mancus impetus est eorum et aperte cum difficultate adgrediuntur hostes qui in sinistro dimicant cornu. The translator greatly exaggerates the capabilities of the left wing, which is of course the most vulnerable part of the army.

109,23. meillore e loins : longe...meliorem ("better by far").

109,24. a vostre aler : in congressu.

110,2. vostre ele, etc. i.e. in this case, the right wing.

110,6. ke vostre compaignie...enemis : ne inimicorum cuneis transversa tua acies elidatur.

110,12. nous esperom : non sperante.

110,20. il a occasion...corneres : habet occasionem, qua inuadat et diuisa cornua et mediam aciem destitutam. "the enemy has the opportunity to attack, ordering his own centre and separating his wings."

111,1. ne porront pas estre deceu. Vegetius' light infantry and archers are so deployed that the central front line behind them will not be penetrated by the enemy.

111,2. Kar s'il...com de archers : Nam sic [si] de dextro cornu suo illius sinistrum et de sinistro cornu suo illius dextrum adgreditur. Quod si fugare potuerit, statim uincit; sin minus, media acies ipsius non laborat, quia a leui [quia alieni] armatura sagittariisque defenditur. e si sa meesne compaignie. "and thus his centre."

111,9. car la compaignie...ces enemis : Nam (cum) instructa acies ad hostes accedit, etc.

111,15. vostre senestre partie : (ferir) lor senestre should of course be read; the attack is being made by the right wing.

111,19. a la manere...enemis. "like a very long letter (I), keeping at a distance from the enemy."

111,20. om est sovent desconfit en chemins : in itineribus saepe confligitur.

111,25. ou paluz ou bois : aut paludes (aut) abrupta.

111,26. E vostre...ferrenters. "And you should draw up the remainder of your army in a straight line; but you must reinforce that (flank) which is unprotected with all your cavalry and light troops."

112,4. doble chivauchee. "double the usual amount of cavalry."

112,8. e si vous...enemis : siue in medio facere cuneos uolueris, per quos acies hostium rumpas, in cuneo exercitatissimos ordines [homines] bellatores.

III.21. Viam abscedendi hostibus dandam ut deleantur facilius
fugientes.

113,3. Nous ne devons...fuir : uiam hostibus, qua fugerent,
muniendam [fugiant minime muniamus]. "We should not garrison the
enemy's escape route" is a paraphrase which might not have pleased
Scipio.

113,4. Car quant...berbiz : Nam cum abscedendi aditu patefacto
mentes omnium ad praebenda terga [mente sompnium apprehendat erga]
consenserint, inulti [multi] more pecudum trucidantur. "For when
they have a clear way to escape and tiredness catches up with them,
many of those who give in to it are killed like sheep."

113,6. Ne des suianz, etc. "Nor is there any danger to the pur-
suers; for the pursued, once they have thrown away their arms..."

113,8. com plus..abatu : quanto maior fuerit, tanto facilius
multitudo prosternitur. The original is well rendered by Phillips:
"the greater the numbers of the flying army, the greater the
slaughter".

113,10. Illoc...des enemis : Neque (enim) ibi requirendus est
numerus, ubi animus semel territus non tam tela hostium cupit dec-
linare quam uultum. Ceterum clausi, etc. "Where troops are fear-
ful, their number need not be taken into account, for they no
longer seek to flee from enemy missiles." A misreading of the
original accounts for the muddled translation of this and the
following sentence.

III.22. Quemadmodum ab hostibus recedatur, si consilium displicet pugnae.

113,20. greignor peril ne poet avenir. i.e. than when retreating.

114,1. La premere chose...lor espie se desespeire : Primum ut tui [cui] nesciant, ideo (te) recedere, quia declinas inire conflictum, sed credant arte aliqua se ideo reuocari, [et] ut ad oportuniorum locum inuitetur hostis ac facilius superetur aut certe insequentibus aduersariis secretiores conlocentur insidiae. Nam [n. necesse est] ad fugam parati sunt [sint] qui ducem suum sentiunt desperare.

"In the first place their reason for turning away and wishing to retreat is that they do not wish to enter into open conflict; the men believe that through some ruse they will be recalled, or that their enemy will be enticed to a more convenient position; and he will gain victory more easily, if not certainly, if he places effective ambushes in the event of an enemy pursuit. Men who feel that their look-out despairs (of victory) are necessarily ready for flight."

114,10. gent a chival. The cavalry act as a sort of screen, concealing the retreat of the infantry.

114,11. Derichef...primes trai : Item particulatim incipientes a primis singulas acies subducebant retroque reuocabant, in gradu suo manentibus reliquis, quos sensim postea cessimque [censimque] ad illos iungebant, quos subduxerant primum. The translator fails to convey the original sense of a slow and ordered withdrawal; two

mistranslations of subducere and the misreading of cessimque as caesimque are the main reasons for his difficulty. a les queus, etc. "they then attacked with swords those who had been first to betray (their comrades)".

114,17. del ost : cum exercitu.

114,21. de gent...confundeient : a leui armatura, quae ante occupauerat locum, additis equitibus fundebantur.

114,25. En cel tens...cure. "In such a case care should be taken to suitably man ambushes, for when pursuing a fleeing enemy men are bolder and less cautious" - and therefore exposed to such tactics.

115,3. ou quant il dormeient. Translators addition. This, together with the subsequent reference to Kenilworth, is discussed in Ch.4 of the Introduction.

115,5. Ce est...autre : Quod et nobis uitandum est et hosti in eiusmodi [eius omni] occasionibus perniciēs inferenda.

115,7. Car en commune...fortune. "For in a pitched battle only one side will win; even though skill may play a large part, nevertheless chance may be the downfall of a man."

115,9. Car cil...bataille : qui uero superuentum insidias (subsessas) passus est. The original continues to discuss ambushes and snares.

115,12. poi de gent...destrut les mesperanz : Recto itinere pauci equites insecuntur, ualida [per] manus occulte per [occ. in] alia

mittitur loca; ubi ad agmen inimicorum peruenerint equites,
temptant leuiter atque discedunt; ille credit [illi credunt]
quicquid insidiarum fuerat [fuerit] praeterisse et sine cura
resoluitur [resoluit] ad neglegentiam; tunc illa manus, quae
secreto itinere destinata fuerat, superueniens obprimit ignoran-
tes. "A small body of cavalry pursues the enemy by the direct
road; when they reach the enemy column they make feint attacks
and retire without difficulty, and then they are secretly dis-
patched in bands to other places. They have good reason to
believe that the enemy look-out will go by and then carelessly
neglect his duties; then those troops who have been sent ahead
by a secret route to launch a surprise attack, wipe out their
unfortunate enemy." The translator fails to distinguish between
Vegetius' two separate pursuing forces, one to engage the enemy's
attention and the other to prepare an ambush.

115,19. si il deivent...espiez : praemittunt qui angusta uel
abrupta occupent loca, ne ibidem patiantur insidias.

115,22. les branches des arbres. The translator omits the
following quas concaedes [concedes] uocant, ut aduersariis
facultatem adimant persequendi.

E pres de illuc...aider a fraude : Et paene utrique
parti in itinere ad subsestas communis occasio est : nam qui
praecedit, oportunis uallibus uel [et] siluosis montibus quas
post se relinquit insidias, in quas cum inciderit inimicus,
recurrat ipse et adiuuat suos; qui uero sequitur, auersis

semitis longe ante destinat [destituatur] expeditos et praecedentem
aduersarium arcet a transitu [arceat transitum] deceptumque a
fronte et a tergo (concludit. Dormientibus noctu aduersariis et
qui praecessit potest) regredi [regressi] et qui sequitur, quan-
tumuis intersit, potest superuenire per fraudem [subuenire ad
fraudem]. "On this sort of ground both sides on the march have
equal opportunities to set ambushes. The general of the retreating
army, finding the woods, mountains and valleys which he has left
behind him suited to his purpose, doubles back, concealing him-
self, and there lays ambushes; and if his enemy approaches, he
attacks, and assists his own men. The general of the pursuing
army, following by divers routes from afar, presses his enemies,
hemming them in from the front and rear; he may be helped in
his ruse by the efforts of reinforcements."

III.23. De camelis et catafractis (equitibus).

116,13. After en lor compaignies, the translator omits Vegetius'
reference to African peoples and their use of camels in war :

et Vrcilliani intra Africam uel ceteri Mazices hodieque producunt.

116,16. Estre...cele gent : Ceterum praeter nouitatem, si ab in-
solitis [in solis] uideatur, inefficax bello est.

116,17. Les catefractés...plaies : Catafracti equites propter
munimina, quae gerunt, a uulneribus tuti [uti].

116,21. e autres...ceus : et laqueis [aliaque hiis] frequenter obnoxii.

Il valent...a chival : contra dispersos pedites quam contra equites in certamine meliores, tamen aut ante legiones positi aut cum legionariis mixti. The heavily armed cavalry are better used against the infantry than against enemy cavalry.

III.24. Quomodo quadrigis falcatis uel elephantis in acie possit sis [obsisti].

117,7. After Antiochus, et Mithridates is omitted in translation.

117,8. grant noise : magnum...terrorem.

117,9. Car tel engin...deceu. "For this sort of machine did not easily find open ground in which to move, and was easily brought to a halt by the least obstruction; and it may be put out of action by one assault or by having one of its horses wounded."

117,11. Mes les chivalers...nomeement : Sed maxime hac Romanorum militum arte perierunt.

117,13. teus maneres des choses : tribulos ("caltrops").

117,18. e par grant...nouveuté : barritus horrore, formae ipsius nouitate.

117,29. le rei Pricus : rex Pyrrhus [pirchus].

118,1. The original has in addition to this list Iugurtha in Numidia.

118,2. Car centurion...elefanz : Nam et centurio in Lucania gladio manum, quam promuscidem uocant, unius abscidit, et bini catafracti

equi iungebantur ad currum, quibus insidentes clibanarii sarisas
[cubanarii carios], hoc est longissimos contos, in elefantos
dirigebant. Hurling a coat-of-mail at an elephant, as the trans-
lator apparently advocates, can surely be of little assistance in
killing it!

118,5. Car il furent...chevals : Nam muniti ferro nec a sagittariis,
quos uehebant [nec sagittarios quos habebant] beluae, laedebantur et
earum impetum equorum celeritate uitabant.

118,8. Autres chivalers...catefractes : Alii contra elefantos
catafractos milites inmiserunt.

118,11. ke il ne puisse...encontre li : ne manu sua elefas [ne
elephantis] bellatorem contra se uenientem posset adprehendere.

118,14. ke seoient...darz : qui ex equis optime [optimis] missibilia
dirigebant.

118,17. plusors chivalers coillé ensemble. i.e. the rest of the
army now joins in.

118,19. une autre manere des dars : pila, hoc est missibilia.

E ce est oie chose...nient blessez : Illud additum est,
ut funditores cum fustibalis et fundis rotundis lapidibus destinatis
Indos, per quos regebantur elefanti, cum ipsis turribus affligerent
Atque mactarent, quo nihil tutius inuenitur. Praeterea uenientibus
beluis, quasi inrupissent (aciem, spatium milites dabant. Quae cum
in agmen medium peruenissent,) circumfusi undique armatorum globis
cum magistris absque uulneribus capiebantur inlaesae. Vegetius does
not discuss here methods of killing the elephants, but rather of

killing or capturing the guides and soldiers mounted upon them. One of the best methods was to entirely surround the elephants, capturing both them and their guards unhurt.

119,1. E arblasters...granz plaies : Carroballistas aliquanto maiores - hae enim longius et uehementius spicula dirigunt - superpositas curriculis cum binis [bonis] equis uel mulis post aciem (conuenit) ordinari, et, cum sub ictum [iactu] teli accesserint, bestiae sagittis ballistariis transfiguntur. Latius tamen contra eas et firmiter praefigitur ferrum, ut in magnis corporibus maiora sint uulnera. plus leement, etc. "the iron head was plunged the more firmly and squarely into their bodies, which were so huge that the large wounds would scarcely be noticeable". As in 118,19 note, the translator is guilty of attempting to over-simplify the text, thereby losing much of the original sense. In this case he has departed far from the concept of a battery of heavy ballistae, drawn up behind the lines by horses or mules.

III.25. Quid fieri debeat, si uel pars fugerit uel totus exercitus.

119,12. le dustre ke remaint : ducis constantia.

119,13. Ce auient...au desrein : Innumerabilibus hoc accidit bellis, et pro superioribus [ut superiores] sunt habiti qui minime desperarunt [desperauerunt].

119,15. Car en semblable condicion : Nam in simili condicione.

What Vegetius is actually trying to say is that where a battle is apparently "drawn", either general may still claim a moral victory,

partly by being the first to seize the spoils of the slain and by inciting appropriate rejoicings in his own camp. This is of course not at all clear in the translation.

119,16. quant lor enemis sunt departi del ost : de caesis hostibus [disseisis hostibus].

119,21. Ke si...querre : Quod si aliquo casu omnis in acie fundatur exercitus, perniciose clades [perniciose cadis]; tamen reparationis multis fortuna [forte] non defuit, et medicina quaerenda est. "For if on some occasion the entire army should be joined together in one body, it will often be found wanting (in various departments) and for this a remedy must quickly be found."

120,1. Por ce...les vencuz. "Therefore the prudent general should go into battle with this precaution: that should anything unexpected happen, owing to the diversity of factors encountered in war and in men, he shall save his defeated troops with the minimum of losses."

120,6. ou si les plus fors...les lour : si ceteris abscedentibus fortissimi (qui)que restiterint, se suosque seruabunt.

120,8. Car soventefez...sodaine cruauté : Frequenter iam fusa [fessa] acies dispersos ac passim sequentes reparatis uiribus interemit. Numquam exultantibus maius solet euenire discrimen, quam cum ex subito ferocia in formidinem commutatur [commutantur].

"The scattered troops of the pursuing side are often reinforced and (yet?) destroyed. For nothing worse could happen to rejoicing soldiers than for them to have their joy transformed by fear of

the enemy's sudden ferocity." Little logic can be found in ll. 6-11; the translation is very poor.

120,12. par sorvenue : quocumque euentu.

120,16. a ceus ki unt desiré occisions : captatis occasionibus [occisionibus].

120,17. Ne covenableté...fieblesse. "Nor will such an opportunity be lacking, as long as the human mind in its weakness is both in-cautious and over-sure of itself."

120,19. Si aucun...est deue : Si quis hunc casum ultimum putat, cogitet euentus omnium proeliorum inter initia contra illos magis fuisse, quibus uictoria debebatur. "If anyone should believe this to be the end, he should reflect upon the outcome of all those battles which at the beginning went more against those who were victorious in the end."

Regulae bellorum generales.

121,4. ce ke aide lui a bien mester a vous : quod illum adiuuat tibi semper officiat.

121,6. Kar il comence...siure : Contra te enim esse incipis, si imiteris [incipit, si dimiseris] quod fecit ille pro se, et rursum quicquid pro tua parte temptaueris contra illum erit, si uoluerit imitari. "For things go against you if you disregard what the enemy has done; and again whatever you do for your own ends will go against him if he pays no attention to it."

121,10. Ki plus a vera veillé : qui plus in agrariis uigilauerit.

121,12. Chivaler...ke par bataille. These two Rules of Vegetius have become confused: Numquam miles in acie producendus est, cuius antea experimenta non ceperis./Aut inopia aut superuentibus aut terrore melius est hostem domare quam proelio, etc.

121,19. En sollicitudines...adversaire : In sollicitandis suscipiendisque hostibus, si cum fide ueniant, magna fiducia est, quia aduersarium amplius frangunt transfugae quam perempti.

122,2. E de plus leger veint : Difficile uincitur.

122,3. challenger : iudicare [uindicare].

122,8. Noblesce...travail : Exercitus labore proficit, otio consenescit.

122,11. vilissent : uiliscunt.

122,12. Ki siut...adversairie : Qui dispersis suis inconsulte sequitur, quam ipse acceperat, aduersario uult dare uictoriam.

122,16. cil poet...devaunt : quadrata dimicet fronte. For more detail of the seven methods of deploying an army for battle, see 108,5 et seq.

122,18. Ki se demoustre nomper : Qui inparem se iudicat.

122,20. Ki la senestre...manere : Qui sinistram alam (fortissimam habere se nouit, dextram alam) hostis inuadat [hoste sui/udat], qui est tertius modus.

123,1. Ke il = Ki. "He who cannot depend on, etc."

123,8. Ki s'afie...gent a pié. The apparent contradiction stems from a miscopying in the original Latin which causes two Rules to

be condensed into one: Qui confidit equitatu, aptiora loca quaerat equitibus (et rem magis per equites gerat./ Qui confidit pedestribus copiis, aptiora loca peditibus quaerat) et rem magis per pedites gerat.

123,10. Quant l'espeie...l'espie pris. "When an enemy spy is evidently engaged upon evil business in your camp, the soldiers should be ordered to their tents in the daytime, and the spy will be immediately captured."

123,13. E conseil...s'asailent. This apparent recommendation that an army should never - in any circumstances - give battle is again the result of an omission from the translator's Latin text of a considerable passage of the original. Four Rules are affected this time:

Cum consilium (tuum cognoueris aduersariis proditum, dispositionem mutare te conuenit./ Quid fieri debeat, tractato cum multis, quid uero factururus sis, cum paucissimis ac fidelissimis uel potius ipse tecum./ Milites timor et poena in sedibus corrigit, in expeditione spes ac praemia faciunt meliores./ Boni duces publico certamine) numquam (nisi) ex occasione aut nimia necessitate confligunt.

123,17. Plusors comaundemens...soffise asez. "There are many precepts appertaining to the cavalry; but since this branch of military art is bettered by practice, by armed drill and by the good qualities of the horses, I do not see that there is more to be learnt from books; for our present discipline is quite good enough. meuz vaile : profecerit.

123,21. Par queu manere...remedies : Quo genere depugnaturus sis,
nesciant [nescio nec sciant] hostes, ne aliquibus remediis obsis-
tere moliantur. ne le sachent pas vos enemis. "nor let your
enemies know."

124,2. Empereor nient vencu, etc. : Digesta sunt, imperator
inuicte, quae nobilissimi auctores diuersis probata temporibus per
experimentorum fidem memoriae prodiderunt, ut ad peritiam
[periciendum] sagittandi, quam in serenitate tua Persa miratur, ad
equitandi scientiam uel decorem, quae Hunnorum [qua morem]
Alanorumque natio uelit [uellet] imitari, si possit, ad currendi
uelocitatem, quam Saracenus Indusque non aequat, ad armaturae
exercitationem, cuius campidoctores uel pro parte exempla in-
tellexisse [se] gaudent, regula proeliandi, immo uincendi
artificium iungeretur [ingeratur], quatenus uirtute pariter ac
dispositione mirabilis reipublicae tuae et imperatoris officium
exhiberes et militis. The translator fails to grasp the import of
in serenitate tua, and so Vegetius' éloge of the warrior qualities
of his Emperor is transformed into a list of those things which
les tresnobles auctors demustrent par divers tens, without
reference to the dedicatee. Only at the end of the translated
passage does the Emperor achieve more than a passing mention, and
even here the sense is not too clear: "For by your prowess and
by your ordering of this prodigious service for the common good,
you show yourself to have the qualities of both Emperor and soldier".

124,15. La premere, etc. Lang treats this section as the Prologue to Book IV. Vegetius now proposes to examine the attacking and defence of cities and fortresses.

La premere...commune chose : Agrestem incultamque hominum (in) initio saeculi uitam a communione mutorum animalium [mortuorum hominum] uel ferarum urbium constitutio prima discreuit. In his nomen reipublicae repperit communis utilitas. "The first constitution dealing with the beginnings of human societies and of cities describes the life of primitive men no better than dead or wild animals. The advantages of these cities bring about the name 'common-wealth'."

124,19. les nations ke sunt sacrez as princes : nationes ac [ad] principes consecrati.

125,1. doner noun suz une amplificacion. i.e. name a city after a prince who rebuilt or enlarged it.

125,2. ad tote la victorie : obtinet palmam. The palm-branch is of course a token of victory. Here, however, the sense is figurative, and "honour" or "fame" should be understood.

Car des autres...bien parfaites : Ab illis [aliis] enim uel paucae uel singulae, a pietate tua innumerabiles urbes ita iugi labore perfectae sunt, ut, etc.

125,7. e par bons ensamples, e par indulgence des estudies, e par amour : exemplis indulgentiae [indulgentia], studiorum amore.

125,8. Car le age...touz jours. "For the past itself wished to bring about the good works of your own reign, achieved by your spirit and efforts, and the future will ever wish to perpetuate them."

125,11. Les queus...puet faire : Quibus rebus tantum uniuerso orbi praestitum gratulamur [gratulantur], quantum uel humana mens petere [praeesse] uel gratia potuit diuina conferre. "As far as the human mind and divine grace can bring these things about, they can only serve to benefit and bring happiness to the whole world."

125,13. Mes a ces...par defens. "Rome makes a good example for Your Highness's provisions concerning the advantages of working on and fortifying the walls; this city, by appropriate defence measures, preserved the safety of the fortress of the Capitol."
l'aparailement des murs e le travail : murorum elaborata constructio.

125,17. E por ce...ressues : Ad complementum igitur operis maiestatis uestrae (praeceptione suscepti) rationes. parlement is probably miscopied from parfetement. "And so the council responsible for Your Majesty's undertakings has, at your command, accepted the said principles, whereby..."

BOOK IV

There is a list of the chapters of Book IV in both Latin texts at this point, but none in the translation. For the rest of the work only a few headings are given in the translation and in the Fitzwilliam Latin text. I have split up the text according to the original chapter-division, and in the Notes have supplied corresponding chapter-headings from Lang.

IV.1. (Ciuitates aut natura aut opere debere muniri.)

126,4. ke est plus fermement dit : quod firmitus ducitur [d'r].

126,5. ou il est...ou de mur : natura aut locorum edito uel abrupto [editu uel aruptu] aut circumfuso mari siue paludibus uel fluminibus; manu fossis ac muro.

126,7. En icel...terre : In illo naturali beneficio tutissimo eligentis consilium, in plano quaeritur fundantis industria [fundatis in austria]. "Provided with these favourable and very safe natural conditions, one should consider well before deciding to establish a fortress in open ground."

126,10. quant les aydes des lius defailloient. "when the lay of the land gave no assistance."

IV.2. (Non directos, sed angulosos muros faciendos.)

126,12. Les aunciens...demonstré : Ambitum muri directum ueteres ducere noluerunt, ne ad ictus [additus] arietum esset expositus.

126,13. mes il clostrent...choses : sed sinuosis [sed si musicis] anfractibus, iactis fundamentis, clausere urbes. It would be difficult to imagine how a city might be defended with any success if one of its principal fortifications were a surrounding barricade of prickly thorn-branches, even though the translator allows the construction of towers at its corners.

126,15. si aucun...par eschele : si quis ad murum tali ordinatione constructum uel scalas (uel) machinas uoluerit admouere. oster is used mistakenly in the same context on 133,9, 137,16.

IV.3. (Quemadmodum muris e terra iungatur adgestus.)

127,3. Enaprès...bredeschés : Deinde terra, quae de fossis fuerit egesta, inter illos mittitur uectibusque densatur [sensatur], (ita ut a muro primus paries pro rata inferior, secundus longe minor ducatur,) ut de plano ciuitatis ad similitudinem graduum quasi cliuo molli usque ad propugnacula possit ascendi.

127,9. la pesantime...esta : ad muri uicem ingruentibus moles obsistit.

IV.4. (De cataractis et portis, ne noceantur ab ignibus.)

127,10. Estre ce je lou : Cauetur praeterea [Laudetur p.].

127,13. bretasche : propugnaculum. The passage describes the functions of a portcullis suspended from a jutting rampart.

IV.5. (De fossis faciendis.)

128,4. ke il ne soffrent...terre. "(the waters) do not allow the enemy to continue their mining operations."

128,6. parfait : peragi. "brought to an end."

par hautesce des ewes : earum altitudine (= "by the depth of the trenches").

IV.6. (Ne sagittis hostium homines laedantur in muro.)

128,8. L'em deit...encontre eus : Formidatur [Frudatur], ne multitudo sagittariorum de propugnaculis exterritis defensoribus adpositisque scalis [oppositisque scapulis] occupet murum.

128,11. Enaprès...seient tenduz : Deinde (per) propugnacula duplicia saga ciliciaque tenduntur. doble bretasche. i.e. a double line of defence. cointe haires for saga ciliciaque (lengths of coarse wool and cloth) is an astonishing translation.

128,13. Le launceor...floter ; Neque enim facile transeunt spicula [spiculatorem] quod cedit ac fluctuat. "The thrower of missiles does not easily get through if one kills him or makes him waver."

128,16. After des peres, quas metallas uocauerunt is not translated.

128,18. par engin faitez. Translator's addition.

IV.7. (Quibus modis prouidendum sit, ne famem patiantur obsessi.)

129,2. Mes vous mosterom...vitaille : Nunc sciendum est obsidendi duas esse species, unam [quas species esse ut], cum aduersarius oportunis locis praesidiis ordinatis (****) uel aqua prohibet inclusos uel deditionem [additionem] sperat a fame, quando omnes prohibuerit commeatus.

129,6. Par itel conseil...enemi. "In this way one may at leisure and in safety exhaust one's enemy."

129,7. As queus adventures...sospecion. "(As a precaution) against such happenings, the occupiers (of the city), even if worried by the slightest suspicion..."

129,18. e tote...manere de frut : ceterarumque frugum uel pomorum congerendae sunt copiae.

129,20. Car ausi...mester : Nam, ut hortorum cura in uirdiariis domorum uel areis exerceatur, utilitatis ac uoluptatis ratio persuadet.

130,1. si l'em...garder : nisi ab exordio dimensione [insione?] salubri per idoneos erogatio temperetur.

130,3. ceus ke ne porront aider. i.e. aetas ac sexus propter.

IV.8. (Quae species praeparandae sint pro defensione murorum.)

130,7. piz e oile e feu gregeis e autres choses plusors : Bitumen sulphur picem liquidam oleum, quod incendiarium uocant.

130,14. de ces peres...tours : ex quibus muri replentur et turres.

A sufficient supply of stones must be kept on the battlements.

130,15. Il deivent...quassez : minima ad fundas siue fustibalos [m. fundis siue fustabilis] uel manibus iacienda; maiora per onagros diriguntur, (maxima uero pondere formaque uolubili in propugnaculis digeruntur,) ut demissa per praeceptum non solum hostes obruant subeuntes sed etiam machinamenta confringant.

130,19. After de granz arbres, uel intercisi ex ualidissimis arboribus cylindri [calimdri], quas taleas [talas] uocant is not translated.

130,22. tresgrans...clous de fer : diuersae magnitudinis clauos ferreos.

131,1. nomeement...adversaires : praecipue cum subitis operibus addenda sit muris uel propugnaculis altitudo, ne aduersariorum mobiles [moles] turres superemineant et capiant ciuitatem.

"particularly when they were set up against walls or ramparts; for when the machines were raised higher than the walls, the enemy city and its forces were taken."

IV.9. (Quid faciendum sit, si neruorum defuerit copia.)

131,5. une manere...arblastes : onagri uel ballistae ceteraque tormenta. The onager and ballista were considerably larger weapons than the Turkish bow and arbalest.

131,7. Neporquant...choses : Equorum tamen saetae de caudis ac iubis [a ciuibus] ad ballistas utiles adseruntur.

131,9. e plus ont de uertu : non minorem habere uirtutem.

131,10. quant il...tormens : corruptis iugi ac longa fatigatione tormentis. "when they were long harassed by many kinds of war-machines."

131,12. les matrones...se combatoint : matronae abscisos crines uiris suis obtulere pugnantibus.

131,17. Ensement...garnisons : Cornua quoque uel cruda coria proficit colligi ad catafractas texendas [tenendas] aliaque machinamenta siue munimenta [munimenta].

IV.10. (Quid faciendum, ne aquae inopiam patiantur obsessi.)

132,12. purgum : burgum [purgum].

- 132,13. archers e arblastiers : ballistas sagittariosque.
132,14. ou en chastels ou en citez : multisque priuatis.
132,15. After ewe de plue, quae de tectis effluunt is not translated.
132,16. Car ces...ewe : Difficile sitis uicit, qui [D. enim eos quis uicit] quamuis exigua aqua ad potum tamen tantum in obsidione sunt usi.

IV.11. Si sales defuerint.

- 132,18. il prendront...vesselemez : liquor ex mari sumptus per alueos aliaque [atque] patula uasa diffunditur.
132,22. la quele...siel : quae sole siccata nihilominus mutatur in sales. "(they mix it with fresh water,) which by drying in the sun escapes more quickly, by which means it is changed into salt."
ne is apparently redundant and probably results from a misunderstanding of nihilominus.

IV.12. (Quid faciendum, cum primo impetu uenitur ad muros.)

- 133,2. C'est...batailes sunt : Violenta autem inpugnatio quando castellis uel ciuitatibus praeparatur, mutuo utrimque periculo sed maiore obpugnantium sanguine exercentur luctuosa certamina.

The translation fails to convey that the besiegers are more exposed than the besieged and therefore run greater risks.

133,5. Car ceus...cité prise : Illi enim, qui muros (inuadere)
cupiunt, terrifico [mirifico] apparatu expositis copiis in spem
deditionis formidinem geminant [corpus sine spe declinationis
formidinem generant] tubarum strepitu hominum(que permixto);
tunc, quia timor magis frangit insuetos, primo impetu stupentibus
oppidanis, si discriminum experimenta non norunt, admotis scalis
inuaditur ciuitas. Car ceus, etc. Understand "There are some
who seek to escape by some treacherous means, fearing for them-
selves, or frightened by the blare of trumpets and the shouts of
men". ostent (133,9), cf. 126,15 note.

IV.13. (Enumeratio machinarum quibus muri obpugnantur.)

133,13-15. These three lines form an introductory chapter to the
several chapters on machines of war which follow. The Latin
original, about as short, is a little more specific: Admouentur
enim testudines [et] arietes falces uinae plutei [putei] musculi
turres; de quibus singulis, qualiter fabricentur, quo etiam pacto
proelientur uel repellantur, edisseram [enarremus].

IV.14. (De ariete falce testudine.)

133,16. de une matire : De materia ("of wood, timber").

133,18. ou de haire ou de autre chose : ciliciis centonibusque.

Iceste...com desvé. "This encloses a wooden beam, on
the front of which is fixed on iron hook, called a sickle on

account of its being shortened(?) in front, and this tears out the stones of the wall. And sometimes the tip is covered with iron, and it is then called a ram, either because its hard head can knock down walls, or because it retreats and then returns to the assault as if enraged."

IV.15. (De uineis, de pluteis, de aggere.)

134,6. Les aunciens...caucias : Vineas dixerunt [Lineas duxerunt]
ueteres quas nunc militari barbaricoque usu causias [caucias]
uocant.

134,9. E par teu...murs : Huius tectum [tecum] munitione (duplici
tabulatis cratibusque contexitur. Latera quoque uimine saepiuntur,
ne) saxorum telorumque impetu penetrentur [penetrantur]. "And by
attacking with this type of machine, together with stones and
missiles, they breached the walls."

134,10. E dedenz esteient covert de quirs, de cedre e de autre
chose : Extrinsecus autem...crudis ac recentibus [cedrinis ac
recedentibus] coriis uel centonibus operitur. The whole construc-
tion is covered on the outside with fire-resistant materials,
among which cedre, resulting from a miscopying, cannot properly
be counted.

134,13. ceus ki sistrent desuz : obsidentes [subsidentes].

134,15. Il aveient...par costume : Plutei [Putei] dicuntur qui
ad similitudinem (absidis) contexuntur e uimine et ciliciis uel

coriis [coreis] proteguntur ternisque rotulis, quarum una in medio, duae in capitibus apponuntur, in quacumque parte uolueris admouentur more carpenti. The pluteus, or mantlet, generally took the form of a protective screen mounted on wheels.

134,19. les defendours must apply to those in the mantlet.

135,1. E puis...darz : Agger autem ex terra lignisque extollitur contra murum, de quo tela iactantur. This short sentence describes the advantages of building an agger, or rampart, when attacking a besieged place. The machines just described can evidently be rolled up to the walls without hindrance from uneven ground, ditches, moats, etc., if an even, sloping rampart is built for them.

IV.16. (De musculis.)

135,3. Uncore...vienge : Musculos dicunt minores machinas, quibus protecti bellatores sudatum auferunt [si lutum offuerit] ciuitatis. Vegetius describes another kind of mantlet, used particularly when besieging cities and preparing the ground for larger machines.

135,6. la tour ke est alaunt : turres ambulatoriae [turris ambulatoria].

135,7. musches : musculi. The translator evidently has little knowledge of marine affairs.

IV.17. (De turribus ambulatoriis.)

135,15. de autre chose : centonibus (cf. 133,18 note, 134,10 note).

a les queus...laour : quibus pro modo altitudinis additur latitudo. Siege-towers are the subject; thus "whose breadth is reckoned according to their height".

135,19. E plusors...se muet : His plures rotae mechanica arte subduntur, quarum lapsu uolubili magnitudo tam ampla moueatur.

"And several towers are skilfully joined together and, rolling bodily, this huge mass moves." Siege-towers functioned independently of each other; the mistranslation results from tours for rotae ("wheels").

136,5. After trefs, saepumque de uimine is not translated.

136,6. e par ce...cel engin : per eum egredientes [ingredientes] de machina bellatores in ciuitatem transeunt et occupant muros.

"by means of this, the invaders surpass the (enemy) forces; and they destroy the walls with this machine." The bridge is not intended to serve as a battering-ram as well, as the translator appears to believe.

136,8. archers e arblasters...l'abatent : contati et sagittarii collocantur, qui defensores urbis ex alto contis missibilibus saxisque prosternant. Arblasters (arblastiers) is another erratic generalization for terms not properly understood. It translates carroballistas on 119,1 and ballistas on 132,13. The assertion that the bowmen on top of the siege-tower are defending the city is of course nonsensical; they should be attacking its walls.

136,11. Queu chose...enemis : Quid enim auxilii superest, cum hi, qui de murorum altitudine sperabant, repente supra se aspiciant altioremur hostium murum? "What resource is left to them on the tower and on the top of the wall who hoped swiftly to attain the same height as their enemies?" ("and who did not succeed in doing so" must probably be understood.)

(IV.18. Quemadmodum ambulatoria turris possit incendi.)

The title of IV.18 appears in the Latin chapter-list (fol. 139r.) of the Fitzwilliam Vegetius, and the text itself is on ff. 143v. and 144r. It is omitted from the French version. Vegetius puts forward the most effective methods of setting fire to siege-towers: by direct assault or by burning arrows and spears aimed from ballistae.

IV.19. (Quemadmodum altitudo muris addatur.)

136,16. ke il ne pussent...citez. "so that the men approaching (in the tower) may not destroy the defenders who are guarding the city walls."

136,18. E si...bas : Constat autem inefficax machinamentum reddi [reddis], (si) inueniatur inferius. "And in this way they will find that (even) a large machine will be lower."

137,1. ceste torele. For torele, read tour. The turret is concealed within the main tower and raised by ropes and pulleys for a sudden and unexpected attack on the walls.

IV.20. (Quo pacto suffodiatur terra, ut machina nocere nihil possit.)

137,6. ele refers to the approaching tower, which may be held at a distance by long beams pushed out from the walls.

137,7. E quant...enemis : Sed cum Rhodiorum ciuitas obpugnaretur
[proditorum ciuitas oppugnatur]

137,11. de jour. i.e. "the next day".

137,14. le mur ne puet afondrer ne plus avant mover : (tanto)
ponderi solo cedente subsedit nec iungi muris [murus] aut moueri
ulterius potuit. "it can neither breach the wall nor advance any further."

IV.21. (De scalis sambuca exostra et tollennone.)

137,16. E quant les tours sunt ostez : Admotis turribus.

cf. 126,15 note.

138,1. par ensample...eschele : exemplo Capanei, a quo primum
scalarum obpugnatio perhibetur inuenta.

138,3. E por ce...de une harpe : (Et) ideo sambuca exostra et
tollennone [tollencione] obsidentes in murum hostium penetrant.

Sambuca dicitur ad similitudinem citharae. The sambuca is a kind of drawbridge which may be let down from the top of the siege-tower.

138,9. Il i ad...merveilousement : Exostra dicitur pons, quem
superius exposuimus, quia de turri in murum repente protruditur.

The exostra is not let down from the tower. Its function is not in fact distinguished from that of the sambuca in the translation,

which immediately confuses it with the tollenno, Vegetius' third method of attacking the parapets. Properly, the exostra is a gangway pushed out from the upper part of the tower.

138,10. Car quant...nombre des armez : Tollenno [Tolle uero] dicitur, quotiens una trabes in terram praealta defigitur, cui in summo uertice alia transuerso trabes longior dimensa medietate conecitur eo libramento, ut, si unum caput depresseris, aliud erigatur. In uno ergo capite cratibus siue tabulatis contextitur machina, in qua pauci conlocantur armati; tunc per funes adtracto depressoque [deprehensoque] alio capite eleuati inponuntur in murum [in numerum?]. Thus the tollenno, quite distinct from the sambuca and exostra, is a see-saw construction, furnished at one end with a basket sufficiently large to contain a small number of men, who may thus be levered high enough to attack the parapet.

IV.22. (De ballistis onagris scorpionibus arcuballistis fustibalis fundis, per quae tormenta defenditur murus.)

138,16. Envers...les dars : Aduersum haec obsessos defendere consueuerunt ballistae onagri scorpiones arcuballistae fustibali sagittarii fundae. Ballista funibus [sagittarii sudibalista fundibus] neruinis tenditur, quae, quanto prolixiora brachiola habuerit, hoc est quanto maior fuerit, tanto spicula longius mittit.

138,19. la quele refers to ballista.

138,20. Understand e avant ~~ie~~ eient [seu]: "who have already learnt its proportions".

139,2. After grosses peres, fulminis more is not translated.

139,3. les queus je vous ai avant nomez. Translator's addition

139,4. Scorpion apelent il une manere de arme : Scorpiones dicebant, quas nunc manuballistas uocant, ideo sic nuncupati, etc.

139,5. Arcs : Fustibalos.

139,6. por ce ne le veut il pas descrivre : describere superfluum puto. In this case where Vegetius uses the first person, the translator transposes to the third, whereas in the previous sentence the translator's intrusion in the first person into the text is quite original. The interpolation ke il dit devant, on the next line, is again the work of the translator.

139,7. Mes...peres : Saxis tamen grauioribus per onagrum destinatis.

The onager is the largest machine of the ballistic range, and it is to this machine alone that the original here refers.

IV.23. (Aduersum arietes prosunt culcitae laquei lupi columnae grauiiores.)

139,11. Encontre...avant : Aduersum arietes etiam uel falces.

139,12. Les uns...cordes : Aliquantu centones et culcitas funibus chaland [calcant]. socs is probably copied in error for sacs.

The impact of the battering-ram is reduced by bundles of cloth and mattresses suspended in front of it by the defenders.

139,15. E autres...retornent : Alii laqueis captos arietes per multitudinem hominum de muro in obliquum trahunt et cum ipsis

testudinibus evertunt. Where Vegetius uses a rope to lasso the ram and so overthrow its covering testudo, the translator uses it instead to bind a number of men together so that they may be let down from the wall to seize and overthrow the ram themselves.

139,20. The lupus is in fact a pair of giant pincers.

140,2. un autre mur seit dedenz ajosté : salutis una spes superest, ut destructis domibus [dimitibus] alius intrinsecus murus addatur.

IV.24. (De cuniculis, per quos aut murus defoditur aut ciuitas penetratur.)

140,5. e foient...leveres : quod cuniculum uocant a leporibus, qui [in] cauernas sub terris fodiunt ibique conduntur.

140,6. E grant...voie : Adhibita ergo multitudine ad speciem metallorum in quibus auri argentique uenas Bessorum rimatur industria, magno labore terra defoditur cauatoque specu in exitium ciuitatis inferna quaeritur uia. cf. 46,10 note.

140,9. par doubles aguaiz : duplicibus...insidiis.

140,10. e pernent ens compaignie a eus : reseratisque portis suorum agmen inducunt. Thus the original is more specific, although it does not contain the following phrase, tacked on by the translator, e entrent e issent quant il voillent. Similarly, e destruent quant ke il trovent is added by the translator at the end of the chapter.

(IV.25. Quid facere debeant oppidani, si hostes inruperint
ciuitatem.)

This is the second chapter to be completely omitted from the French translation (the first being IV.18). In the Latin text of the F.V. this chapter is run together with the following chapter and has no title. The title is given, however, in the Latin chapter-list on fol. 139v. Vegetius shows that all is not necessarily lost if the enemy gains entry into a besieged city. The defenders should occupy all high places and bombard the attacking army with stones and missiles from above.

IV.26. (Quae sit adhibenda cautela, ne hostes furtim occupent
murum.)

- Not separated from the preceding chapter in the Latin text of the F.V., there being neither title nor capital. Again, the title is clearly given in the Latin chapter-list on fol. 139v.

140,21. E por ce...Ke les gaites, etc. : Propter quod maior est
adhibenda custodia, cum hostis abscesserit, et in ipsis muris ac
turribus teguriola [turguliora] conlocanda, in quibus uigiles, etc.

141,4. chiens. Vegetius is originally more selective, requiring
acerrimos ac sagacissimos canes as watch-dogs for the city.

141,5. E ensement...enemis : Anseres quoque non minore sollertia
nocturnos superuentus clamoribus indicant. Once again, Vegetius
is more specific and mentions only geese in this context.

Similarly, cri des oysels (141,9) translates clamore anserum.

141,7. Car Manilius...sorvint : Nam ingressi Capitolinam arcem Galli [artem calli] Romanum nomen eruerant [irruerent], nisi clamore anserum excitatus Mallius [manlius] restitisset. Mira diligentia siue fortuna uiros, qui uniuersum orbem erant missuri sub iugum, auis una seruauit. "For when an army by great skill reached Rome, with the intention of destroying the Romans, Manilius, a great lord of Rome, would never have been able to resist, had it not been for the cry of the birds, which in their exceptional diligence kept vigil in case of surprise attacks."

IV.27. (Quando oppidanis inferantur insidiae.)

141,14. Encontre...a miedi, etc. : Oportunitas enim insidiarum aliter non potest inueniri, nisi scias, (quibus horis aduersarius a laboris intentione discedat,) quibus reddatur incautior, interdum [de] medio die, etc.

141,19. E puis...congé : Quod in ciuitate [-em] cum coeperit [-erint] fieri, obsidentes astu se a proelio subtrahunt, ut aduersariorum neglegentiae [negligentia sibi] licentiam tribuant. The sense is "They then retire to some distance from the scene of operations, so that the negligence of the enemy will put him off his guard".

141,21. E puis...la cité : Quae ipsa inpunitate cum creuerit, repente admotis machinis uel adpositis scalis occupant ciuitatem. "And then, suddenly and without difficulty, (the besiegers) resolve to move the machines, apply the scaling-ladders, and so

take the city."

142,3. ke quele...a eus : ut [in-] cognitis insidiis adcurrentes
ad manum habeant quod supra caput hostium euoluant atque iaculentur.

IV.28. (Quid faciant obsidentes, ne ab oppidanis patiantur
insidias.)

142,6. Quant...al sege : Cum neglegentia (inter)uenerit, paribus
insidiis subiacent obsidentes [partibus subiacent obsidentis].

142,11. al get de un dart : ultra ictum teli.

142,12. non pas soulement de haie ne de puz : non solum uallo
[uallis] et sudibus.

142,14. E c'est...hauberk : quod opus loriculam [loricam] uocant.
[et] Saepe, cum obsidio describitur, inuenitur in historiis lorica
[lorica] urbem esse circumdatam. The lorica of Vegetius, here
hauberjon or hauberk, is a small parapet, or barrier, built to
surround the city by the forces which are besieging it.

IV.29. (Quo genere tormentorum ciuitas defendatur.)

(In the Latin text of the F.V., Chapters 28 and 29 are
run together.)

142,17. C'est a saver...de haut : Sed ex alto destinata missibilia
siue plumbatae uel lanceae ueruta [uel rote] uel spicula in
subiectos uehementius cadunt.

142,20. peres gitez hors des fondes : saxa manibus fundis siue fustibalis directa.

143,1. E les autres deus engins : Ballistae uero et onagri.

143,3. il trenchent...a nient. Translator's addition.

143,4. ne nul home...defendre : a quibus nec [nemo] uirtus ulla nec munimina possunt defendere bellatores.

IV.30. (Quemadmodum mensura colligatur ad scalas uel machinas faciendas.)

143,11. ou par...hautesce : aut enim linum tenue et expeditum uno capite nectitur in [n.et] sagitta, quae cum ad muri fastigia [fastidia] directa peruenerit, ex mensura lini murorum altitudo deprehenditur [perpenditur].

143,13. ou par l'ombre...de mur : aut certe, cum sol obliquus umbram turrium murorumque iaculatur in terram, tunc ignorantibus aduersariis umbrae illius spatium mensuratur (itemque decempeda figitur et umbra ipsius similiter mensuratur). Quo collecto nemo dubitat ex umbra decempedae inueniri altitudinem ciuitatis, cum sciatur, quanta altitudo quantum umbrae mittat in longum. Both methods of measuring the height of city walls are explicitly described in the original; the translator merely substitutes brevity for exactitude. The decempeda of the original, as its name suggests, is a pole ten feet long. Comparative measures of its shadow and that of the city wall will reveal the height of the latter.

143,16. Les queus...par poesté : Quae ad obpugnandas uel defendas urbes auctores bellicarum artium prodiderunt uel quae recentium [retencior] necessitatum usus inuenit, pro publica, ut arbitror, utilitate digessi [digressi], illud iterum iterumque [illud utrumque] commonens, ut sollertissime caueatur, ne quando aut potus inopia emergat aut cibi, quibus malis nulla arte succurritur; ideoque intra muros tanto plura condenda sunt, quantum scitur clausurae tempus in obsidentum potestate consistere.

"These things, that is the besieging and defence of fortresses and cities, have been explained by military authors; or (on the other hand) they have been discovered through the demands of necessity and by the practice of that which I believe to be for the common good; so that those who are attacking or defending may wisely avoid falling short of food or water, there being no remedy for such an unfortunate situation. For this reason, provisions should be stowed within the walls when circumstances demand, so that the enemy outside may be resisted with vigour." I have quoted in full this Latin passage, which is in the nature of a postscript to Book IV, or at least to that part of Book IV which deals with siegecraft.

(BOOK V)

In both Latin and French texts of the F.V. the chapters dealing with warfare at sea are treated as part of Book IV. Lang adopts the same principle. In these Critical Notes I have therefore treated the final section as an appendix to Book IV, following Lang's system of numbering its chapters and thus, instead of V.1, I have written IV.31, etc. The blank page in the text is a token separation of the two sections. IV.31 has no title in either of the texts of the F.V., although it is prefaced in each case by a capital; neither is the title given in the Latin chapter-list on fol. 139v., where chapter-headings for the remainder of Book IV(-V) - with the exception of IV.34 - are written in full.

IV.31. (Praecepta belli naualis.)

144,4. e por ce...autres ewes : de cuius artibus ideo pauciora dicenda sunt, quia iam dudum pacato mari cum barbaris nationibus agitur terrestre certamen. A poor translation fails to convey the reasons of Vegetius for dealing so shortly with sea-battles. By the end of the fourth century the barbarian menace on the northern and eastern borders of the Empire was of paramount importance to a Rome which had comparatively little to worry about so far as naval aggression was concerned. It was by land battles that the fate of the Empire was largely to be confirmed.

144,7. Car le pople...aparailé : Romanus autem populus pro decore et utilitate magnitudinis suae non propter necessitatem tumultus alicuius classem parabat extempore, sed, ne quando necessitatem sustineret, semper habuit praeparatam.

144,13. A Miserte....o lor nef's : Apud Misenum [misertum] igitur et Rauennam singulae legiones [l. nationes] cum classibus stabant.

The Western fleet was based at Misenum, near Naples, and the Eastern fleet operated from Ravenna, on the Adriatic coast. One legion was assigned to each, according to Vegetius.

144,15. la cité. i.e. Rome.

144,16. Car ceus...en ayde : Nam Misenatium [miserantium] classis Galliam Hispanias Mauretanium Africanam Aegyptum Sardiniam atque Siciliam habebat in proximo.

144,18. E ces...tot le monde : Classis (autem) Rauennatium Epiros [-um] Macedoniam Achaïam Propontidem Pontum [per pontidem pontem] Orientem Cretam Cyprum petere directa navigatione consueuerat.

IV.32. (Nomina iudicum, qui praeerant classi.)

145,1. E le provost...Liburne : Liburnis autem, quae in Campania stabant, praefectus classis Misenatium [miserantium] praeerat.

Liburnia was a province situated between Istria and Dalmatia, to the east of the Adriatic, which gave its name to the liburna, a light warship. Province and ship are confused throughout the remainder of the translation, in spite of the explanation of the term and its provenance offered on 145,15.

145,3. sur les queus...establiz : sub quibus erant deni tribuni per cohortes singulas constituti.

145,4. Les autres...furent : Singulae autem liburnae singulos nauarchos, id est quasi nauicularios, habebant, qui exceptis ceteris nautarum officiis gubernatoribus atque remigibus et militibus exercendis cotidianam curam et iugem exhibebant industriam.

Perhaps "The Liburnians had other ships, looking after them nobly, with great care and attention. Apart from other ranks, there were both steersmen and soldiers". de Liburne. cf. 145,1 note.

IV.33. (Vnde appellentur liburnae.)

145,9. e por ce maneres de navies : et ideo diuersa genera nauium fuerunt.

145,10. quant Augustus...Atonie : Augusto dimicante Actiaco proelio, cum Liburnorum auxiliis praecipue uictus fuisset Antonius.

I have read Atonie for the scribe's a tome (?). (There is a town on the Black Sea called Tomi, or Tomis, but Augustus fought no losing sea-battle there.) The reference is to the battle of Actium, in 31 A.D., when, with good support from his Liburnian ships, Augustus finally defeated Mark Antony. e ust esté, etc. "and Antony had namely been defeated."

145,14. coverirent : texuerunt.

145,15. Diatesine : Iadertinae [diastine?] (= of the Iadertini - inhabitants of Iader, capital of Liburnia).

IV.34. (Qua diligentia fabricentur liburnae.)

(In the Latin text of the F.V., chapters 33 and 34 are run together.)

146,3. de pin de vile ou de boys : pinu domestica siue siluestri.

146,4. feseient ceus de Liburne lor nefes : liburna contextitur.

146,5. After clous de fer, the following passage is omitted by the translator: quamlibet enim grauior aliquanto uideatur [que licet alñ uidentur] expensa, tamen, quia amplius durat, lucrum probatur afferre.

146,6. After ces de fer, tepure et umore [F.V. in humoribus] is not translated.

IV.35. (Qua obseruatione sit caedenda materies.)

146,10. Ices .vii. jours...les nefes : His enim tantum octo diebus [.vii. pedibus] caesa materies immunis seruatur a carie.

acarie is a meaningless miscopying; while .vii. is not only a miscopying, but a miscalculation into the bargain. Perhaps the translator thought that 'Acarie' was a historical character, like Fidestin de Mont Trajane and others (cf. 37,23, and Introduction, pp. 63-4).

146,13. e ce dient...couper : quod ars [quamuis] ipsa et omnium architectorum cotidianus usus edocuit et contemplatione [ut contemplationem] ipsius re(li)gionis (agnoscimus), quam pro aeternitate his tantum diebus placuit celebrari. "seven" is again written in error for "eight".

IV.36. (Quo mense caedendae sint trabes.)

146,15. après la chalour del solail en esté : post solstitium aestium.

146,16. après le meis : per mensem.

146,18. quant crest la moistesce : arescente umore [accrescente humore]. According to Vegetius, this is the time when the sap of trees dries up and the wood is harder and drier. With moistesce, however, the translator refers to seasonal dampness.

146,19. Ensement...ke il seient seks : Illud etiam cauendum, ne continuo, ut delectae fuerint trabes, secentur [seccentur] uel statim, ut sectae fuerint, mittantur in nauem, siquidem et adhuc solidae arbores et iam diuisae per tabulas duplices ad maiorem siccitatem mereantur indutias. The inaccuracy of the translation must largely be attributed to the confusion of secare, "to cut, saw", and siccare, "to dry".

147,3. Car jameis...ensemble : Nam quae uirides conpinguntur, cum natium umorem exudauerint, contrahuntur [F.V. Numquam uirides cum pinguntur, cum nauium humorem exudauerant, contrahuntur].
jameis = "sometimes".

IV.37. (De modo liburnarum.)

147,7. Ore...de degré : Quod ad magnitudinem pertinet, minimae liburnae remorum habent singulos ordines, paulo maiores binos, idoneae mensurae ternos uel quaternos interdum quinos [qui non]

sortiuntur remigio [remigium] gradus. Perhaps "I shall now treat of the size of warships; they all have rows of an appropriate number (i.e. of oarsmen), those a little larger even having two or three such rows, whose men can never at the same time attain the rank of helmsman."

147,10. Ne celes...oultre ordre : Nec hoc [Nec hee] cuiquam enorme uideatur [uideantur], cum in Actiaco proelio longe maiora referantur concurrisse [incurrisse] nauigia, ut senorum etiam uel ultra ordinum [ordinem] fuerint. The translation, from an evidently faulty original, is quite appalling, and the reference to Actium is entirely lost. I can only suggest the following interpretation: "Nor are these considered to be really large by those who are experienced. When they were far away on an engagement (and separated from the body of the fleet) they are said to have been exposed to even larger ships".

147,13. E neporquant...depaintes : Scafae tamen maioribus liburnis exploratoriae sociantur, quae uicenos [uicinos] prope remiges in singulis partibus habeant [habebant], quas Britanni picatos [pictas] uocant. "Nonetheless, they (i.e. presumably these smaller liburnae) are joined with the larger warships, for the purpose of subversion (against the enemy); and they always sailed everywhere with their helms close to them; such ships the Britons call "the painted ones".

147,16. E par iceles...conseil : [et] Per has et superuentus fieri et commeatus aduersariorum nauium [nautum] aliquando intercipi adsolet et [intercipias solet tunc] speculandi studio aduentus [-um] earum uel consilium deprehendi. The translator has read spiculandi

for speculandi, which results in the nonsensical de trere des darz. Ignoring this phrase, the best reading may be "and thus the arrival of strange ships would be learnt of by spying out the plans of their movements".

147,19. E neporquant...lor nef's : Ne tamen exploratoriae naues candore prodantur [exploratores naues cito deprehendantur], colore Veneto, qui marinis est [qui in aurinis] fluctibus similis, uela tinguntur [uel attinguntur] et funes, cera etiam, qua ungere [cetera autem qua ungere] solent naues, inficitur.

148,1. E les notiners...legerement : Nautaeque uel milites Venetam uestem induunt, ut non solum per noctem sed etiam per diem facilius lateant explorantes [s.e. facilius per diem exploratores]. This is another case where the translation stands in direct contradiction to Lang's text. The translator, however, did not enjoy the benefits of a standard edition, and his own Latin text was most unsatisfactory - particularly as far as the present chapter is concerned.

IV.38. (Nomina uentorum et numerus.)

148,5. les signes : turbinum signa.

148,7. en la quele partie...tempestes : in qua parte naturalis philosophiae tota est adhibenda sollertia, quia [ad]uentorum tempestatumque caelesti ratione natura colligitur.

148,9. E por la cruauté...pereçous. "As for the cruelty of the sea, just as caution protects and preserves the careful ones, so does error kill the careless."

148,12. art de nature : ars nauigandi.

148,13. solonc le ordeinement : iuxta positionem cardinum.

148,15. mes par experimenz...tuché : sed experimentum posterioris aetatis XII comprehendit [sed experimento posterior etas duodecim comprehendit]; horum uocabula ad summuendam dubitationem non solem Graeca sed etiam Latina [latina lingua] protulimus. The sense of the translation seems to be that people used only to suspect that there were four main winds, whereas from more recent experience they know this to be true. Vegetius states quite clearly that there are in fact twelve such winds, and goes on to name them. His description of them is, however, not translated (cf. Lang, pp. 155,3-156,3).

148,18. De tuz ces venz, etc. The following section is treated by the translator as a fresh Chapter, the D being capitalized and illuminated. In the Latin texts of the F.V. and Lang it is treated as part of IV.38, there being no similar evidence of separation. (cf. Introduction, p.61.)

149,2. des tempestes est rendu clarté : ex procellis serenitas redditur et rursum in procellas serena mutantur [in procellis serenitas redditur].

149,3. Car en le secund...peril : Nam secundo spiramine optatos classis inuenit portus, aduerso (stare) uel regredi aut discrimen sustinere compellitur.

149,5. grant peril soffri : difficile naufragium pertulit.

Obviously the sailor who studies the winds will be less - not more - prone to dangers at sea.

IV.39. (Quibus mensibus tutius nauigetur.)

149,7. After des jours, the translator omits Neque enim integro anno uis atque acerbitas* maris patitur nauigantes. (*Between acerbitas and maris, the F.V. has two intrusive lines of text which belong to the preceding chapter on winds: yreciac siue eypob'oic. a sinistra eurus siue uulturnus. Meridianum autem cardinem possidet nothus. id est auster huic a dextra iungitur; cf. Lang, p. 155,7-9).

149,9. Des le sisme jour des kalendes de octobre : Pachone decurso [fanuite decursu], id est post ortum Pladum, a die VI. (kal. Iunias usque in Arcturi ortum, id est in diem VIII. decimum) kal. Octobres [calendarum octobris]. Navigation is safe in the summer itself, not from the end of summer onwards, as the translator suggests.

149,12. dreske al derein ide de novembre : usque in tertium idus Nouembres [usque ad internum idus Nouembris].

149,15. e al utisme...vigile de nowel : et VIII. kal. Octobres aequinoctialis euenit acerba tempestas, circa nonas uero Octobres aeduli [edi] pluuiiales, V. idus easdem Taurus. A [tauruta] Nouembri autem mense crebris tempestatibus nauigia conturbat Vergiliarum [uigiliarum] hiemalis occasus. The names of the various constellations cause great difficulty.

149,18. Drekes...closes : Ex die igitur tertio (idus Nouembres usque in diem sextum) idus Martias maria clauduntur.

149,19. e le eir...lor vivre : nubium densitas, aëris obscuritas,

uentorum imbri uel niuibus geminata [niuis gemina] saeuitia non solum classes a pelago sed etiam comueantes [comicantes] a terrestri itinere deturbat. doble tormens. "storms twice as harsh."

150,3. E après...en cel tens : Post natalem uero, ut ita dicam, nauigationis, qui sollemni certamine (publicoque) spectaculo multarum urbium [m. gentium] celebratur, plurimorum siderum ipsiusque temporis ratione usque in idus Maias periculose maria temptantur. "If I may say so, from Christmas until the ides of May is a very dangerous time to hazard out upon the seas, for which reason Christmas is solemnized; one should not set sail on account of some special feast or because some dispute has broken out between peoples, bearing in mind the situation of a number of stars during this period." In fact, the re-opening of navigation in mid-March is properly the occasion for festivities; even so, the seas are still dangerous until the middle of May.

150,8. Ne mie...cesse : non quo negotiatorum cesset industria, sed quia maior adhibenda cautela est, quando exercitus nauigat cum liburnis, quam cum priuatarum mercium [priuatorum mensium] festinat audacia. "Not that worrying matters will cease during this period, but greater caution is to be used when warships are then afloat with the army than when the rigours of these wild months come to an end." The translation fails to convey that whereas Vegetius is alive to the dangers to which the army may be exposed at sea, he is little concerned with individual merchants engaged on private affairs.

IV.40. (Quemadmodum tempestatum obseruanda sint signa.)

150,12. la deverie...neissance : aliorum ortus occasusque siderum.

150,13. en les queus...a plein : in quibus licet certi dies auctorum adtestatione signentur, tamen, quia diuersis casibus aliquanta mutantur et, quod confitendum est, caelestes causas humana condicio [noscere] ad plenum (nosse) prohibetur. "Although certain days have been specially noted, according to the testimony of various authors, nevertheless the human mind is well acquainted with the fact that conditions change from various causes and that we must acknowledge the influence of the heavens."

150,17. Por ce...maneres : ideo nauticae obseruationis curam trifariam diuidunt.

150,18. ou ce serra etc. "either a storm will come some time on the stated day, or on the day before or after."

150,19. After tempeste serra, the translator omits a sentence of the original which gives the Greek names for the days in question: Vnde praecedentes προχελμύσεις [pergymnazon], nascentes die sollemni χελμύσεις [gymnazon], subsequentes μετχελμύσεις [metachimaton] Graeco uocabulo nuncuparunt [nuncupatur].

150,20. déstrent espressement : expresserint.

151,1. o l'avant...deguerpiissent : cum praescripto cursu Dei [diei] arbitrio creatoris suscipiunt signa uel deserunt. "according to the judgment of God, they either accept these signs or disregard them."

151,3. Car entre...mariners : Interluniorum autem dies tempestatibus plenos et nauigantibus quam maxime metuendos non solum peritiae (ratio) sed etiam uulgi usus intellegit.

IV.41. (De prognosticis.)

151,6. Car par nuls...mariners clarté : Multis [Nullis] quoque signis et de tranquillo procellae et de tempestatibus tranquilla [d. temp. procelle] produntur, quae uelut in speculo lunae orbis ostendit. Rubicundus color uentos, caeruleus [ceruleos] indicat pluuias, ex utroque commixtus [-is] nimbos et furentes procellas. Laetus [leuis] orbis ac lucidus serenitatem nauigiis repromittit, quam gestat in uultu [uulgo], praecipue si quarto ortu neque obtusis [obtonsus] cornibus rutila neque infuso fuerit umore fuscata. quam gestat...fuscata is not translated. "Storms do not show signs to indicate whether they will be mild or otherwise. Just as reddish-coloured skies and the round moon, which you observe, and a circle of winds (hurricane? whirlwind?) will denote rainy weather in all parts and the storms mentioned above, so do generally clear skies promise the sailors good weather."

151,10. Car le solail...techelé : Sol quoque exoriens uel diem condens [credens] interest utrum aequalibus gaudeat radiis an obiecta nube uarietur, utrum solito splendore fulgidus an uentis [-us] urgumentibus igneus neue pallidus [paludis] uel pluuiis sit inpendente maculosus. "For when the sun is just rising or early

in the day, one should ask oneself if it will be changeable, that is, if one must enjoy both good and bad weather; (one should observe) when clouds move out of the sun's rays, or when the sun shines in its customary splendour, or whether the wind be red (sic), resulting in mud and rain, or whether the wind be stained." The last two lines are nonsense; the translator is completely baffled as to the meaning of the original.

151,15. Car le vent...especes : Aër uero et mare ipsum [ipsis] nubiumque magnitudo uel species sollicitos instruit nautas. les curioses especes. i.e. "the stranger kinds of weather".

151,18. si cum...cotefie : quae Vergilius in Georgicis diuino paene [plene] comprehendit ingenio et Varro in libris naualibus diligenter excoluit.

151,20. Si governors...confirmé : Haec gubernatores si se scire profitentur, (sciunt) eatenus, quatenus eos imperitiae usus instituit, non altior doctrina formauit.

IV.42. (De aestuariis, hoc est de rheumate.)

152,1. Reelement de la mer : Elementum pelagi. I think that the scribe must have intended Le element, the capitalized R being a mistake on the part of the illuminator. The sense is, however, scarcely altered.

152,2. e par son mouvement e sofflement : suo quoque spiramine motuque.

152,3. Car en certaines...hautesce : Nam certis horis, diebus

pariter ac noctibus aestu quodam, quod rheuma uocant, ultro
citroque [citoque] percurrit et more torrentium fluminum nunc
exundat in terras nunc [nec] refluit in altitudinem suam. The
translation completely misses the point of Vegetius' description
of the Sea's ebb and flow (rheuma), which is compared to the
flooding and subsequent receding of the waters of a river.

152,6. Iceste doute...a la fie : Haec reciprocantis meatus
ambiguitas cursum nauium secunda adiuuat, [et] retardat aduersa.

152,8. l'assaut de cel signe : rheumatis impetus.

152,13. conoistre avant. i.e. "learn before the battle".

IV.43. (De locorum notitia siue remigibus.)

152,15. ke il sachent...corrantes : ut infesta prominentibus uel
latentibus [babentibus] scopulis, uadosa ac sicca uitentur.

152,17. En mariners : in nauarchis ("in captains"); cf. 152,19.
en notiners : in remigibus ("in oarsmen").

152,19. est en la mer : tranquillo committitur mari.

152,21. par deboutemenz des avirons : remorum pulsu.

153,1. en quel overaigne...terrestre : in quo opere lacerti
remigum [-ium] et ars clauum regentis magistri uictoriam praestat.
art des clous for "art of the helmsman" is a ludicrous mistake on
the part of the translator; so is the implication that naval
captains should be skilled in the command and management of land
battles.

IV.44. (De telis tormentisque naualibus.)

153,9. Por ce...en nef : Praecipua ergo esse debet tegminum
[regiminis] cura, (ut) catafracti uel loricati galeati etiam et
ocreis muniti sint milites. De onere namque armorum nemo potest
conqueri, qui stans pugnat in nauibus. "Therefore suitable care
should be taken in commanding a ship, etc." The translator fails
to understand the implication of stans; in a ship the soldier/
sailor needs to move about very little and is therefore less
encumbered by heavy armour.

153,14. por autre manere...s'en sunt alez : Praeter falces et
harpagones aliaque naualia genera telorum sagittis missibilibus
fundis fustibalis [fundibalis] plumbatis onagris ballistis scor-
pionibus iacula inuicem diriguntur et saxa et, quod est grauius,
qui de uirtute praesumunt [-sumit], admotis liburnis, etc. s'en
sunt alez. cf. 133,9. quant il ostent les escheles (admotis
scalis), and 126,15 note.

154,1. de lor engins : de excelsioribus [excellentioribus]
tabulatis. E issi destruent...sodeinement: Oleo incendiario
stuppa sulphure (et) bitumine obuolutae [oblute] et ardentes
sagittae per ballistas in hosticarum nauium alueos infiguntur
unctasque cera et pice et resina tabulas tot fomentis ignium
repente succendunt. The decks of the (enemy) ships - not the
burning arrows - are smeared with wax and pitch.

154,6. E les uns...sepulture : Alii ferro interimunt(ur) et saxo, (alii) ardere [ardore] coguntur in fluctibus; inter tanta tamen mortium genera qui acerrimus casus est, absumenda piscibus insepulta sunt corpora.

IV.45. (Quemadmodum nauali bello collocentur insidiae.)

154,10. A la manere...aguaiter. "Just as in land warfare, a surprise attack may take place without the sailors in the least suspecting; or they themselves may be placed in suitable straits among the islands to watch out for the enemy."

154,12. Ce ke est fait...ke il se combatent : Idque agitur, ut imparati facilius deleantur; si longo remigio fatigati sunt hostium nautae, si uento urgentur aduerso, si pro rostris [nostris] est rheuma, (si) nihil suspicantes dormiunt inimici, (si) statio [stadio], quam tenent, exitum non habet, (si) dimicandi optata euenit [dimicando optare uenit] occasio, fortunae beneficiis iungendae sunt manus et exoportunitate proelium conserendum.

154,21. donc deivent...compaignons : tunc liburnarum instruendae sunt acies.

154,23. Issi ke...ordeinement : ita ut productis cornibus acies media sinuetur, ut, si aduersarii perrumpere temptauerint, ipsa ordinatione circumdati deprimantur. The final sentence of the original chapter is not translated: In cornibus autem praecipuum robur et liburnarum conlocatur et militum.

IV.46. (Quid fiat, cum aperto Marte bellum nauale committitur.)

155,6. After a la rive, quia pugnandi impetum perdunt qui detruduntur in terras is not translated.

155,7. asserres...pennes : asserres falces bipinnes [bipennes].

155,8. Ce ke il...long : Asser dicitur, cum trabes subtilis ac longa ad similitudinem antennae [autem ne] pendet in malo. com fust en tref sotil e long. "in the shape of a long, thin beam."

155,11. E deboutent...devant : (Hunc, siue a dextra siue a sinistra parte aduersariorum se iunxerint) naues, pro uice arietes ui inpellunt.

155,14. Falx...ateint : Falx autem dicitur acutissimum ferrum curuatum ad similitudinem falcis, quod [qui] contis longioribus inditum chalatorios [collocario] sub funes, quibus antenna suspenditur, repente praecidit conlapsisque uelis [collapsisque uel] liburnam pigriorem et [uel] inutilem reddit. "Falx is the name for a very sharp and short blade with long handles; and when it is put into action by the cords which bind it, it is suddenly let fall and cuts to pieces everything it reaches." This is a far cry from the falx proper, a weapon formed from a sickle-shaped blade at the end of a long pole, and used primarily against the rigging of enemy ships.

155,18. Les sages...jour. The F.V. Latin is deficient at this point, with the result that the precise function of the bipennis is not given in the translation: Per has in medio ardore [pro]

pugnandi peritissimi nautae uel milites (cum minoribus scafulis
secreto indicunt funes, quibus aduersariorum ligata sunt gubernacula.
Quo facto statim capitur tamquam inermis et debilis nauis; quid
enim salutis superest ei, qui amiserit clauum?

De lusoriis, quae in Danubio agrarias) cotidianis tutantur
[utuntur] excubiis, reticendum puto, quia artis amplius in his
frequentior usus inuenit [euenit], quam uetus doctrina monstraauerat.

GLOSSARY

This glossary is selective. It is intended to include those words which are peculiar to the text or to Anglo-Norman, and words which are relatively uncommon in Old French. Particular emphasis has been laid on military terminology. Generally, only the first example of each word is listed. Line-references are given for many orthographical variants, except where such variants may be easily indicated by parentheses within the word (eg. la(u)nce). Verbs are listed under the infinitive form, this being followed by a line-reference if that form occurs in the text, otherwise by a semi-colon. In certain cases where an unusual form appears, the verb may not be listed under the infinitive (eg. sout 55,8 pr.ind.3 of tr.v. soudre : pay; siet 120,2 pr.ind.3 of tr.v. saver : know). Unless otherwise stated, nouns are given under the accusative singular, and adjectives and past participles are given under the accusative singular masculine. The gender of a noun is indicated (a) if it can be determined from the text, or (b) if it is generally constant in Old French. The letter n after a line-reference calls attention to the Critical Notes.

abiet 146,3 s.m., deal.

acarie 146,10n s. (Veg. a carie).

accens 54,20 s.pl., supernumerary reserves.

adresceement 154,22 adv., in a straight line.

afichemenz 25,21 s.m.pl., fortifications (a palisade of stakes).

aforcé 84,1 pp. of tr.v., aforcer : strengthen, fortify.

agraventer 136,16 v.tr., overthrow; 136,7 (of a wall) breach.

aguait 115,16, agait 54,10 (pl. aguais 79,13, agueis 79,17) s.m.,
watch, ambush.

aguaitans 89,21 s.m.pl., ambushers.

aguaiter 154,12 v.tr., ambush

agulon 118,10 s.m., spike.

aide, ayde 2,6 s.f., auxiliary body of troops; (pl.) reserves,
reinforcements; en aide 35,7 in reserve, in league.

aideres 35,21 s.m.pl., auxiliaries.

aindegré s.m.; de mon aindegré 34,7 adv. expr., by myself, on
my own initiative.

aler 30,12 s.m., march, marching.

aler v.intr.; aler un pas 59,19 v.expr., march quickly; aler
avaunt 75,11 v.expr., be on the march.

alier (?); v.intr., 116,15 go, make one's way.

allower 32,21 v.tr., hire, pay.

anguicer 6,17 v.tr., harden, inure.

aoiter 105,14 v.tr., increase.

apaié 71,21 p.p. as adj., satisfied.

aparmain 22,7n.

apernor 46,3 s.m., teacher, instructor.

arblaste 7,17, arbleste 139,5 s.f., arbalest, crossbow.

arblast(i)er 36,15 s.m., crossbowman.

arc s.m.; arc torkeis 131,5 Turkish bow, bow with a double curve.

ardour 154,6 s.f., violence (of the impact of thrown rocks, stones).

areme 146,4 s., bronze, brass.

aries 133,21, ariet 136,4 (pl. arietes 139,11) s.m., battering-ram.

armeure 16,8 s.f., the use of arms.

arse 93,21 p.p.f.sg. of tr.v., arder 130,8 : burn.

as(s)aier 92,10 v.tr., try; 10,13 test, examine.

aspre 65,18 adj., rough, rugged.

asseer 7,23 v.tr., place, set up; asser 17,11, asseir 1,14 v.tr., place, direct.

asseger 25,18, assegir 69,10 v.tr., besiege, lay siege to.

asseingner 11,1 v.tr., teach.

assembler; v.tr. 29,8 draw close together.

asser 155,9 (pl. asseres 155,7) s., beam, a kind of battering-ram used in naval warfare.

atemprer 73,1 v.refl., comply (with).

attendre 27,7 v.tr., face, look towards.

auge 62,2 s.f., trough.

auspresse 70,14 s.f., harshness.

autresi 76,22 adv., thus, in this way.

ava(u)ncement 2,23, 56,1 s.m., promotion; 68,20 advance.

avirounement 73,20 s.m., circular movement, coursing; 126,12
ring, encirclement.

avoiter 60,8 v.tr., increase.

bachelorie 9,14 s.f., young soldiers.

baillif 71,21 s.m., commanding officer.

baliste 138,17 s.f., ballista, a military engine for throwing
stones and other projectiles.

baneor 23,2, baneour 55,10 s.m., standard-bearer.

banerés 91,2, banerez 34,15 s.m.pl., vexillations, cavalry
wings with special standards.

barat 4,12 s.m., trickery, deceit.

barbulos 20,3n, 20,12 s.pl., short spears or javelins, with a
barbed leaden tip.

baron 131,13 s.m., husband.

bas 84,14 s.m., depth.

bek 153,1 s.m., prow (of a ship).

belif; en belif 154,23 adv.expr., in a curve.

beneficier 42,20 s.m., privileged soldier.

bipennis 155,17 s., double-edged axe.

blasme 91,8 s.m., complaint; 133,9 warlike action (?).

bosignor 57,3 s.m., trumpeter.

bosine : see busine.

brauné 8,20 adj., brawny.

bredasche 128,9, bredesche 127,5, bretasche 84,12 s.m. and
s.f., barbican, jutting section of rampart.

busche 6,10 s.f., wood for fuel.

busine 42,21, busigne 57,7, busoigne 57,8, busyne 57,10,
bosine 89,6 s.f., trumpet.

carrobaliste 61,7 s.f., large ballista mounted on wheels.

cassides 22,14 s.(pl.), helmet(s).

catefracte 22,13, s.m., breast-plate of iron scales, mail-shirt.

catefractés 116,17 s.m.pl., mail-clad soldiers.

caucias 134,7n s., penthouse, mantlet.

ceel 69,24 (= siel 132,18) s.m., salt.

centeine 27,8 s.f., century; 44,1, 47,21 s., centurion.

centener 43,13, centeinor 44,2, centeinour 48,3, s.m., centurion.

chalanger, challenger 72,10, 119,13 v.tr., claim; 98,20, 100,13
require; 91,7 dispute; 122,3 judge.

chalines 5,14 s.f.pl., warmth.

chalour 152,3 s.f., violent action, agitation.

champion 60,6 s.m., athlete, combatant.

chareter 60,6 s.m., charioteer, cart-driver.

charette 117,6 s.f., chariot.

chaut 67,13 s.m., warmth (of day).

chevotein 57,10 adj., high-ranking, superior.

chivauchee 112,4 s.f., (band of) cavalry.

chivaucher 35,20 v.intr., serve as soldier(s); 124,6 serve in
the cavalry.

chivaucherie 123,17 s.f., cavalry service.

chose commune 16,23 s.f., (Veg. respublica) common good.

cinquanteine 40,15 s.f., the 2nd (quingentarian) cohort.

claie : see cleie.

clartez 151,1 s.f.pl., fine, clear weather.

cleie 14,12, cleye 14,10 s.f., wicker; 15,1 wicker shield;

128,15 basket; claie 138,13 hurdle.

clier 29,11n s.m., hurdle, barrier.

clivoses 31,2n s.pl., hilly places.

coigne 155,17, coignee 80,2 s.f., axe.

coillette 70,11 s.f., mass.

coing 104,1 s.m., (Veg. cuneus) wedge, a military formation.

commover; v.tr. 150,13 stir up; commu 72,7 p.p., stirred up,
incited.

commune 124,16 s.f., community, society.

commun, commune adj.: see comune and chose.

compaignie 2,10; etc.; s.f., company, cohort, division; a body
of troops (cf. Introduction, p.65).

compaignon 91,6 s.m., ordinary soldier.

comprendre 118,11 v.tr., seize.

com(m)une bataille 53,3 open battle, general engagement.

conduit 122,14 s.m., provisions.

conestable 2,15 s.m., tribune, commander of a cohort (usually the first).

conestablie 46,13 s.f., the command of a cohort or body of troops.

coniee 62,2 s.f., axe; see also coigne.

conseiller 66,15n. s.m. (Veg. consul).

contree s.f.; c. du ciel 5,9n (Veg. plaga caeli).

contumer 72,6 v.intr., revolt.

conveor 71,3, s.m., escort.

conversion 98,6 s.f., turning.

convertir; v.refl. 106,21 turn; convertir p.p. 36,6 directed, deployed.

cophin 62,2 s.m., chest, large basket.

coreie 134,16 s.f., thong, or strip of leather.

corn 24,6 s.m., wing (of an army).

corsus 4,9 adj.m.pl., well-built.

co(u)tefier 39,13 v.tr., honour, worship; 90,10 cultivate; 151,20 pay great attention to.

cotivé p.p. as adj.; nient cotivé 124,16 uncultivated, primitive.

cours s.m.; c. del champ 71,1 (Veg. campicursio) field training.

coutre 139,12 s.f., mattress.

couwe 131,7 s.f., tail.

cretine 13,18 s.f., flood.

croc 61,25 s.m., hook, hook-shaped blade.

crok 21,6 s.m., lance, pike; a long-shafted weapon topped by

a curved blade; 133,19 hook; 155,15 shaft, handle.

croulié 25,2 p.p. of tr.v. crouller : brandish.

crues 61,20 adj., hollow.

crueument 16,15 adv., rigorously.

cuneus 107,4, cuneum 30,2 s., wedge, a military formation.

curiane 27,10n adj. (Veg. (de)cumana).

curious 90,20 adj., careful, solicitous.

curiousement 21,8, curiosement 80,21 adv., carefully, attentively.

danter 121,14 v.tr., subdue, conquer.

dart 7,22 s.m., spear, javelin; a missile weapon such as a
ballista-bolt.

deboneire 148,20 adj., soft, gentle.

deboneireté 125,6 s.f., nobility (of character).

debo(u)ter 28,15 v.tr., repel.

deceivre 80,23 v.tr., trick, surprise, bring to grief;
108,16 attack.

decliner; v.refl. 114,2 leave, turn away.

decorant 83,20 pres.part. of intr.v. decorre : run away, slip
away; 135,20 rolling.

defailer 2,7, defailir 37,9, defaillir 37,2 v.intr., fall into
neglect, decay, default; 65,16 be inferior, be faulty;
77,3 be lacking.

degaster; v.tr. 92,15 destroy, ruin.

deguerpi 79,10 p.p. of tr.v. deguerpir : abandon.

delices 6,7 s.f.pl., luxuries.

delit 31,13 s.m., selection, levy.

delit 32,7 s.m., pleasure, enjoyment.

demeine 77,11 adj., own, appertaining to oneself.

demené 18,9 p.p. of tr.v. demener : direct; 81,14 drawn off.

dens 44,3 s.pl., officers commanding ten men.

depaintes 147,16n s.f.pl., (Veg. picatos) 'the painted ones'.

dep(i)ecer; v.tr. 24,21 etc. break, break up.

deplié 108,5 p.p. of tr.v. deplier : deploy.

desconfit 87,23 p.p. of tr.v. desconfire : defeat, ruin.

desestance 97,9 s.f., difference.

desparpilé 70,6 p.p. as adj., scattered.

desseverer 107,13 v.tr., split.

destorba(u)nce 65,22 s.f., attack.

destresces 154,12 s.f.pl., straits, narrow sea-passages.

desvé 25,2 adj., vigorous; 134,1 enraged.

desvier; v.refl. 149,1 become enraged, frenzied.

deveement 24,1 adv., vigorously, with force.

deveier; v.tr. 9,19 turn away (from), prevent.

deverie 150,12 s.f., waning, fall (of a star).

devisé 34,9 p.p. of tr.v. deviser : arrange, order, split up.

digneté 40,4, dignité 44,16 s.f., rank; par les dignetez 69,21

according to rank; dignitez 52,17 s.pl. (Veg. dignata).
dissimulacion 10,6 s.f., dissimulation, negligence.
dité 34,10 s.m., exposition. treatise.
dizeiner 48,6 s.m., officer in command of ten men.
dizeinour 49,15 s.m., decurion, captain of a body of horse.
doleire 80,2 s.f., axe.
doler 71,13 v.tr., hew, trim.
doner v.tr.; doner leu 26,2 v.expr., retreat, give way; doner
voie 64,12, d. veie 112,15 v.expr., give way.
dragon 47,11 s.m., standard, ensign.
dragoner 23,2, dragoneire 42,14 s.m., standard-bearer.
draz 74,3 s.m.pl., flags.
ducentener 43,16 s.m., officer commanding two hundred men.

echaunchable 53,12 adj., variable.
ein(s) ke 86,17 conj.phr., before.
eire 12,4, eirre 12,8 s.m., (route-) march.
ele 34,13 s.f., wing (of an army).
empetrer 144,11 v.tr., obstruct.
empirement 82,4 s.m., detriment.
encheison 37,2, enchesun 2,7 s.m., cause, opportunity.
encontre ester : see ester.
encontrer v.tr.; entre encontrer 71,14 (refl.) encounter one
another,
meet in fight, dispute.

encour(r)e; v.tr. 147,12 be exposed to.

encourser; v.tr. 77,18 attack.

enfondré 83,2 p.p. of tr.v. enfondrer : penetrate.

enginé 110,7 p.p. of tr.v. enginer : trick, deceive.

enginor 18,6 s.m., maker of weapons, armourer.

enginous 1,15 adj., artificial, designed for practice.

engité 133,10 p.p. of tr.v. engiter : repel.

engrés 84,21 adj., importunate, annoying.

entecché adj.; bien entecché 40,18 endowed with good qualities.

enteez 127,7 p.p.f.pl. of tr.v. enter : pack, fix (of stones
in a wall).

entrelés 68,2 s.m., interruption, delay.

entreparer; v.intr. 100,17n intervene (?).

envaie 152,13 s.m., flow, influx.

envair; v.tr. 24,1 attack.

environour 85,14 s.m., inspector of the guard.

epitome 33,2 s.f., abridgment, epitome.

errer 12,2 v.intr., march.

escharn 117,8 s.m., derision.

escharnir; v.tr. 15,14 mock, be derisive of.

eschele 23,20 s.f., line, rank; 126,17 scaling-ladder.

escole 56,10 s.f., company, section of the army.

escoter; v.tr. 15,5 cut, hack.

eshaucer 60,13n v.tr., exalt, celebrate.

esmaier; v.refl. 59,17 grow discouraged, become effete.

espeie 73,17, 123,10 s.f., spy.

espleit 70,15 s.m., military action.

espleiter; meuz espleiter 81,19 v.expr., go one better.

espressement 150,20 adv., formally, clearly.

esquier 14,16 s.m., squire, attendant to a knight; (young soldier?).

estache 58,20 s.f., stake, pale, post.

estachera 27,16n.

estal; a(1) estal 2,19 adv.expr., on foot, standing.

estanuz 23,23 s.pl., those standing.

estendue 29,18 s.f., line.

ester : v.intr. 2,19 stand, stand firm; v.impers. 95,22 feel;

(en)contre ester 30,5 v.expr., resist, withstand.

estive 57,2 s.f., trumpet.

estoc 83,15, estok 83,21 s.m., stake; tree-trunk.

estové 68,19 p.p. of tr.v. estover : provide, supply.

estover 68,18 s.m., provisions, things necessary for living.

estraanz 91,22 pres.part. of intr.v. estraer : stray.

estranges 19,19 s.m.pl., enemy, barbarians.

estraunge 54,15 adj., extraneous, non-military.

estre 7,19 s.m., state, eventuality.

estreinaument 38,3 adv., meticulously, with care and accuracy.

estreindre; v.tr. 80,11 strain, overerowd; estreint 78,19
p.p., crowded together.

estué 69,5 p.p. of tr.v. estuer 143,21 : keep, conserve, hide away.

eweor 132,8 s.m., water-carrier.

executor 69,14 s.m., executive officer.

falx 133,19 s.f., sickle, bore, an implement used in siege-warfare for extracting stones from walls; 155,14 a similar weapon used in naval warfare to cut the rigging of enemy ships. (Pl. falces 155,8).

feindre; v.refl. 32,9 recede, be transformed; 95,7 hesitate.

fer 130,12 s.m., iron part of a weapon, pike-head.

fermé 84,1 p.p. of tr.v. fermer : fortify.

ferrement 45,15 s.m., fermente 6,9 s.f., (iron) tools, equipment.

ferrentaires 36,14, ferrenters 50,15 s.m.pl., lightly armed soldiers armed with missile weapons.

feu s.m.; feu gregeois 130,7 Greek fire.

fevere 9,9, fevre 2,14 s.m., workman, smith.

fez, fie, etc.; a la fez...a la fie 27,2-3 adv.expr., sometimes...sometimes, now...now.

fonde 134,21 s.f., sling. (funde 18,19).

fondour 99,22, foundeor 118,20 s.m., slinger.

force; fere force de 6,6, 9,1 v.expr., take heed of.

forcheure 105,1 s.f., the pincers, a military formation; 139,18 pincers, fork.

forclore; v.tr. 107,11 cut off.

forfait 17,6 s.m., mistake.

forfait 27,12, forfeite 17,5 p.p.m. and f. of forfaire, forfere :

do wrongly, transgress.

forme 70,3 s.f., outward, superficial appearance.

forslign(i)er; v.intr. 31,16 degenerate.

fort 21,15 adj., hard, difficult.

fossé 7,22 fossee 28,3 s.m. and f., trench, ditch, moat.

fuail 67,15 s.m., fuel.

fui 93,2 p.p. of tr.v. fuir : dig.

fuir 128,5 s., digging.

funde : see fonde.

fusselet 59,4 s.m., stick.

gaingne 21,6 s.f., sheath, scabbard.

gaite 141,2 s.f., guard, look-out.

garnison 25,13 s.f., fortification, equipment.

globus 107,17 s., detachment of troops, platoon.

governail 154,14 s.m., helm ; par long governail 154,14 by a
long voyage.

gouvernement 153,2 s.m., steering, steersmanship.

governor 151,20, governour 152,18, governur 2,11 s.m., leader,
commander; captain; steersman, helmsman.

graveillouse 93,1 s.f., sand- or gravel-pit, sandy region.

graventer 125,20 v.tr., overthrow, destroy.

gregeis 130,7 adj., Greek; see feu gregeis.

grui 148,16 s.m., the Greek language.

guerpir; v.tr. 55,10 abandon, give over.

haie 83,23, haye 28,2 s.f., parapet; hurdle, barrier.

haienge 96,12, hange 92,15, s.f., hate, antipathy.

haire 128,12, heire 134,16 s.f., coarse fabric, cloth made
from hair.

halegre 52,9 adj., fresh.

hange : see haienge.

hant 17,18, haunt 2,1 s.m., exercise, drill.

hante 17,12, haunte 17,13 s.f., lance, spear.

hanter 30,12, haunter 1,11 v.tr. and refl., exercise, practise
habitually.

haper 139,17 v.tr., seize.

hardiesce 150,10 s.f., boldness, relentlessness.

haubergé 47,22 p.p. as adj., armed with a hauberk, mail-clad.

hauberjon 142,15 s.m., sleeveless hauberk, or figuratively
encircling defensive-work.

hauberk 19,9 s.m., coat of mail; 142,16 (fig.) defensive-work.

hauntauns 76,13 s.m.pl., experts, men practised in their art.

havene 152,15 s.m., port.

heire : see haire.

heoses : see hoses.

hoses 23,18, heoses 50,5, huses 51,3 s.f.pl., greaves.

hounte 33,15 s.f., respect, modesty.

huses : see hoses.

ides 149,13 s.m.pl., the Ides, i.e. the fifteenth day of March,
May, July and October; the thirteenth day of the other
months. (sing. ide 149,12, yde 150,4).

ignel 53,19, ignaus 10,14, igneaus 12,15 adj., swift, agile,
prompt.

ignelement 12,6 adv., swiftly.

impedimens 78,17, impedimenz 78,18 s.m.pl., baggage.

issi ke 25,18 conj.phr., even if; 14,20 so that; issi ki 27,22
so that.

istre; v.intr. 57,6 go out.

jalir; v.intr. 132,23 escape.

joiosement 12,21 adv., spiritedly.

jovenceal 1,8, jovencel 1,19; etc.; s.m., young soldier, recruit.

judeis 148,11 s.m.pl., the judicious.

justisé 44,11 p.p. of tr.v. justiser : govern, administer, command.

juvencel : see jovencel.

kalendes 146,17 s.f.pl., the Calends, i.e. the first day of the month. (sing. kalende 149,15).

la(u)nce 7,21 s.f., spear, lance; 130,11 shaft.

laschement 78,18 s.m., spreading out.

lascher; v.tr. 29,9 loosen, open out.

leement 119,3 adv., broadly.

legiaunce s.f.; la legiaunce de chevalerie 7,9n, coll. app. for those who have taken the oath of chivalry, i.e. those who have elected to serve in the army.

lenge 19,4 s.f., sling.

lengeor 52,8, lengeour 59,4, lengour 24,5, lingeor 137,17 s.m., slinger.

libres 24,23n s.pl. (Veg. bebras).

liburne 34,20, 147,7 s., Liburnian, a light warship. (pl. liburneis 148,5).

lingeor : see lengeor.

luans 59,8n s.pl., trainees (?) (Veg. ludentes).

lup 139,20 s.m., pincers, tongs, a kind of grappling hook.

luserien 34,21 s., cruiser, Roman warship.

mace s.f.; maces ou duple ploms 51,3 maces with a double striking head of lead; or flails; maces ou plomez 99,11 flails;

maces plommez 50,17 leaden maces; or flails.

machun 9,9 s.m., blacksmith, armourer.

maque 14,12 s.f., heavy staff.

majors 2,4 s.m.pl., forbears.

malengeus 67,8 adj., unwholesome, impure.

mangeneus 130,16 s.m.pl., mangonels, ballistic engines.

marcher; v.tr., 38,4 note, write down.

matricle 29,17 s.f., legionary roll, register.

matrone 131,12 s.f., married woman; lady.

maunche 105,4, 109,20 s.f., cripple.

meene, meesne : see meine.

meine 110,21, meene 155,1, meesne 111,4 adj., middle, central,
(attrib.) centre; 5,18 equal, balanced; 45,10 mediochre,
unimportant.

meinement adv.; pas meinement 36,10 adv.expr., not a little.

menestrel 46,3 s.m., artisan, worker.

merc 59,5 s.m., mark, target.

merché 10,12, merchié 10,21 p.p. of tr.v. merch(i)er : mark,
imprint with the military mark; 150,14 noted.

mes ke 19,8 conj.phr., even if.

mesaise 129,11, meseise 68,16 s.f., famine, want.

mescheoir; v.intr. 10,8 suffer, reap an ill reward.

meseise : see mesaise.

mesnee 110,18 adj.f., middle.

mester s.m.; avoir m. a 121,4 v.expr., be of use to.

miler 41,18, miller 46,15 s.m., body of one thousand men.

miliana 40,11n adj. (Veg. miliaria)

mon, moun 59,6 adv., indeed; por saver mon 57,15 that is to say.

moncel 103,17, moncelement 103,14 s.m., detachment.

monoxilles 81,22 s.pl., hollowed-out logs used as canoes.

moun : see mon.

mousches 62,7n, musches 135,7n s.pl. (Veg. musculi : sheds,
mantlets).

mucé 76,21, muscé 69,16 p.p. of tr.v. mucer : hide, confine.

mucer; v.refl. 116,2 hide, conceal oneself.

nager 81,15 v.intr., row.

noble 63,19 adj., well-appointed, fine.

noer 1,10 v.intr., swim.

noter 14,20n v.tr. (Veg. nutare) move.

notiner 148,1 s.m., sailor.

nuiz 22,20, nuz 23,4 adj.m.pl., uncovered, exposed.

odif : see udif.

oie 118,20 p.p.f. of tr.v. oir : hear.

onagre 61,15 s.m., a military ballistic engine for throwing
large stones, rocks.

opidans 133,8 s.m.pl., townspeople.

ordinaire 42,6 s.m., high-ranking officer, divisional commander.

ost 2,21 s.m., army; 5,22 camp.

oster 110,13 v.tr., send away.

ostra 138,9n s. (Veg. exostra : a kind of drawbridge, gangway).

ovest 149,15 adj.f.pl., equal.

owel adj.; 47,17 equal; 72,7 equal, equally divided; 128,3

smooth, level, even (cf. ouvel 108,10); par owele main

77,17 by comparable force.

owelement, ovelement, ovelement, adv.; 13,15 in a proper fashion;

14,13, 30,22 equally, in a like manner; 81,13 smoothly.

paie 132,17 p.p. as adj., satisfied, content.

palis 28,6, paliz 7,23 s.m., palisade, stake(s).

palu 151,14n s., mud; pl. paluz 67,16 marshes.

pardurable 132,2 adj., perpetual, lasting.

pareie 127,2 s.f., defensive wall.

parfait 128,6 p.p. of tr.v. parfaire : bring to an end.

patent 97,14 adj., open.

peaus 24,13 s.m.pl., leather caps.

pel 14,8 s.m., stake, pale, post.

penne 155,8 s.f., point, tip.

perir; v.tr. 117,12 kill, destroy.

pertuz 127,17 s.m.pl., openings, machicolations.

pestilence 22,17 s.f., carnage, destruction.

petailles 22,7 s.f.pl., foot-soldiers, infantry.
piçoise 62,1 s., pick.
pilet 24,17 s.m., javelin.
plasseis 78,23 s.m., enclosed place, fort.
pleineirre 12,14 s.m., quick march.
plier; v.tr. 109,25 apply, join.
plom 51,4 s.m., lead, leaden part of a mace or flail; see mace.
plomez 50,7 etc. s.pl., leaden projectiles; 99,11 see mace.
plommez 50,17 adj.pl., leaden; see mace.
plum 1,17, 20,2 s.m., leaden projectile; see also plom, mace.
poignee 48,7 s.f., body of ten men (maniple).
porcel s.m.; teste de porcel 107,8 swine's head (see also
 cuneus : wedge).
porveier 26,13 v.refl., take precautions, make provision;
 63,3 v.tr., purvey, provide; porveer 70,3 v.tr., provide
 for, take measures beforehand; purveir 1,21 v.tr., equip.
potestat 66,14 adj., delegated, representative or executory of
 a higher command.
pourés 94,7 p.p. as s.m.pl., the frightened ones.
prince 2,11 s.m., commanding officer, lord.
proeme 3,5 s.m., prologue.
provendes 69,19 s.f.pl., provisions.
provendres 43,6n s.f.pl., prebends, revenues.
provost 2,12 s.m., prefect; governor, commander.
provosterie 27,5n s.f. (= praetorian gate).

provosterie 56,19 s.f., the actions and office of Prefect; or
the tribunal of the Prefect.

purgum 132,12 s. (Veg. burgus ; a small fortress).

purveir : see porveier.

puz 142,12 s.m.(pl.), mound(s) of earth.

rastel 62,2 s.m., rake.

realier; v.refl. 57,15 rally.

regeir 150,16 v.tr., acknowledge.

reim 126,14 s.m., branch.

remist 52,9 pret.3 of intr.v. remaindre : remain.

requere 58,21 v.tr., attack; requist pret.3. 15,2.

rescous 109,10 p.p. of tr.v. rescourre : preserve, rescue.

reseoir; v.intr. 51,16 settle down.

resident 120,11 adj., remaining.

retrencher 64,12 v.tr., retrench, fortify a position.

reuma 152,4, reume 154,15 s., tide, tidal flow, strong current
in the sea.

roullé 48,25 p.p. as adj., polished, cleaned (of armour, polished
by "rolling", or shaking, in a linen bag).

roundesce 30,3 s.f., orb, a circular formation of troops;

roundesse 56,8 circle.

sailer 7,8, sailler 12,25 v.intr., leap.

saillir 58,22 v.tr., attack.

saillors 51,17 s.m.pl., skirmishers, special soldiers making
sorties and surprise attacks.

sarré 29,10 adj., tightly grouped, bunched.

saver; v.tr. 45,13 cure.

scorpion 139,4 s.m., ballistic engine throwing small projectiles.

secund 149,3 adj., following.

seete 1,15 s.f., arrow.

ser 100,1 v.intr., be situated.

serja(u)nt 34,5 s.m., servant; 54,23 orderly.

serre 62,3 s.f., saw.

serree 107,13 s.f., saw, a military formation.

^{116,4}
siet/120,2 pr.ind.3 of tr.v. saver : know.

silé 25,21 p.p. as adj., hollowed out, cut out.

similitudine 108,12n s., feint, deceptive action.

soc 139,12 s.m., mantle.

sojorné 119,2 adj., fresh.

sollicitudines 121,19, s.f.pl., studied actions, care, concern.

sornombres 54,21 s.m.pl., supernumerary reserves.

sorvena(u)nz 63,12 s.m.pl., skirmishers.

sorvenue 25,22 s.f., surprise attack.

soscher; v.tr. 76,3 suspect; nient soschaunz 91,22 unsuspecting.

soud 37,17 s.m., pay, soldier's allowance.

soudeor adj.; chivalers soudeors 20,18 regular (paid) soldiers.

sout 29,5 pr.ind.3 of intr.v. soloir : be accustomed to.

sout 55,8 pr.ind.3 of tr.v. soudre : pay.

soverein 81,10 adj., higher (upriver).

stoc 83,16 s.m., tree-trunk, tree-stump.

table 61,22 s.f., plank, board.

tai 93,18, tay 135,4 s.m., mud.

targe 7,18 s.f., shield.

techelé 151,15n p.p. of tr.v. techeler : stain.

testudine 134,2 s., mantlet covering a battering-ram or falx (q.v.).

testudo 133,16 s., mantlet, a protective covering of hurdle-work.

thisserant 9,6 s.m., weaver.

tinel 13,10 s.m., club, staff.

torkeis 131,5 adj., Turkish; see arc torkeis.

torment 131,5 s.m., engine of war.

torz; de torz e de travers 7,24 adv.expr., from all sides.

touillir 22,17 v.tr., ravage, destroy.

tout 98,1 pr.ind.3 of tr.v. toudre : remove, take away.

traison 106,14 s.f., ruse, stratagem.

traitiz 149,7 s.m.pl., treatises, discussions.

trebucher 155,16 v.intr., fall.

trebuche 130,16 s.m.pl., ballistic engines.

tref 74,17 s.m., wooden beam, board, plank.

tresbuché 70,16 p.p. of tr.v. tresbucher : overthrow, upset.

tresbuchement 92,16 s.m., downfall, ruin.

triaires 51,1 s.m.pl., triarians, (third line of) veteran soldiers.

tribu 42,5 s.m., military tribune.

udif 71,12 adj., idle; en udif 57,18 adv.expr., at leisure,

in time of leisure.

udivement 70,10 adv., idly.

udivesce 32,7, odivesce 32,13 s.f., idleness.

val 61,18, 85,16 s.m., defensive wall.

valeie 53,2 s.f., hollow.

vassaus 5,6, vasaus 5,17 s.m.pl., young soldiers.

venue 120,19 s.f., outcome.

vergette 14,7 s.f., osier, thin branch.

vergoine 9,19 s.f., sense of honour.

verrute 50,13 s., javelin, spear.

vigile s.f.; v. de nowel 149,17 Christmas Eve.

vilir; v.intr. 122,11 lose value, be of little worth.

vironement 37,4 s., search, casting round (lit. embrace).

visnes 62,6n s.f.pl. (Veg. vineae : mantlets).

void 93,2 adj., empty.

voueus 73,8 adj. vocal; demi-voueus 73,8, semi-voueus 73,18

semi-vocal, i.e. instrumental.

vout 96,2 s.m., face, appearance.

wacranz 106,18 s.m.pl., wanderers, adventurers.

waier 61,23 v.tr., ford, cross by wading.

waious 152,16 adj., shallow.

wasseus 67,8 s.m.pl., marshes, pools.

waust 130,3 s.m., waste.

weille 85,16 s.f., (night) watch.

yde : see ides.

ymaginaire 42,12 s.m., image-bearer.

INDEX OF PROPER NAMES

This Index contains all the proper names appearing in the text and, where necessary, their English equivalents. Line-references are complete, unless followed by the sign etc. The letter n after a line-reference calls attention to the Critical Notes.

Acaye 144,19 Achaia.

Adrian 11,16, 30,14, 33,3 the Emperor Hadrian.

Affrican Scipio : see Scipio.

Affrike 4,11, 32,14, 144,17, Aufrike 93,21, 117,21 Africa.

Alans 22,6 the Alans.

Albin 93,22 Albinus, Roman general.

Alemans 4,9, Alemanz 124,7 the Germans.

Anibals : see Hannibal.

Antiochus 117,7, Antiocus 118,1 King of Syria.

Arcturus 149,14 the brightest star of the constellation Bootes.

Astutus 43,18n, Astuti 43,14n.

Athenes 11,6 Athens.

Atonie 145,11n Mark Antony, Roman triumvir and general.

Aufrike : see Affrike.

Augustales 42,8, 42,10 legionary officers established by
Augustus.

Auguste 39,14 August, the surname of all Roman emperors after
Octavian.

Auguste 30,13, Augustus Cesar 145,10, (Augustin 33,4n : see
Frontin) the Emperor Augustus.

Barbelez 20,6n (lit. those armed with barbed weapons);
Originally the name given to two legions armed with
mattiobarbuli, i.e. leaden balls or projectiles of lead.
see barbulo.

Borgoyne 94,1 Burgundy.

Borgoynons 94,5 the Burgundians.

Bretouns 147,15 the Britons.

Campane 145,1 Campania.

Capitoile 131,10, Capitoloine 125,15 the Capitol.

Caton 11,11, 37,17, Catoun 17,5, 18,13 Cato the Elder.

Cesar : see Auguste, Augustus.

Champ de Marz 20,3 the Campus Martius, or training-ground.

Cicile 144,18 Sicily.

Cipre 144,19 Cyprus.

Claudius 18,14 the Emperor Claudius II.

Cornelius Celsus 11,12 Roman author.

Creatur 151,2 (God) the Creator.

Crete 144,19.

Crinius Primer 56,17n.

Dalmace 145,15 Dalmatia.

Dardaneis 35,16 the Dardanians.

Dayre 65,12 Darius, King of Persia.

Deu 3,12 etc., Deus 125,5 God.

Diatesine 145,15n.

Dioclecian 20,8 the Emperor Diocletian.

Egipte 144,18 Egypt.

Engleterre; la mer de Engleterre 4,6 the English Channel.

Epire 31,19, 144,19 Epirus.

Espaigne 4,10, Espaine 32,15, 144,17 Spain; Port d'Espayne

4,7 the Gate of Spain, probably the pass running through
the Pyrenees at Roncevaux, connecting St. Jean-Pied-de-
Port and Pampeluna.

Fflaviales 42,9 the Flaviales, legionary officers established
by the Emperor Flavius Vespasian.

Fflavian 33,1n.

Fidestin de Mont Trajane 37,23n.

Franceis 94,2, Ffranceis 35,17 (= the inhabitants of Gaul).

Frontin (Augustin) 33,3n, Ffrontinus 11,13 Sextus Julius
Frontinus, Roman author.

Gaule 4,5 Gaul.

Georgikes 151,18 the Georgics of Virgil.

Gothes 22,6, Gotheis 22,16 the Goths.

Grece 11,6 Greece.

Gregeys 4,13, Gregeis 35,15 the Greeks.

Hannibal 117,21, Anibals 32,15 Hannibal, General of the
Carthaginians.

Herculians 20,9n.

Ioine; la mer de Ioine 145,3 the Ionian Sea.

Jovians 20,8n.

Keneling Worthe 115,5 Kenilworth.

Lacedemoine 11,5 Lacedaemonia.

Lacedemoneys 90,9, Lacedemoneis 103,6 the Lacedaemonians.

Liborne 145,17, 146,9, Liburne 145,2 etc. Liburnia.

Lucanie 117,21, 118,3 Lucania.

Lumbardie 12,11 Lombardy.

Macedonie 144,19 Macedonia.

Macidoneis 31,19 the Macedonians.

Manilius 141,7 Roman nobleman.

Marcebarbulos 20,9n : see also Barbelez, barbulos.

Maritane 144,17 Mauretania.

Marius, Gailus 94,3 Gaius Marius, Roman general.

Martis 31,16, Marz 32,3 the god Mars.

Maximian 20,8 the Emperor Maximian.

Meise 32,1 Moesia.

Metellus 93,21 Roman general.

Minotauri 76,20 the Minotaur, a legionary ensign.

Miserte 144,13n, 144,16n, 145,1n. (= Misenum).

Monju 4,6n, Mont-Jovet, in the Savoy Alps (?).

Nace 32,1n.

Numantins 18,17, 93,20 the Numantines.

Octavien 11,16, Ottovien 3,16 the Emperor Octavian; see also
Auguste.

Pannonikes 24,13n Pannonian caps (of leather).

Paternus 11,13 Tarrutenius Paternus, Roman author.

Perce 31,20, 124,5 Persia.

Perse 65,12n.

Pompeye le Grant 13,7 Pompey the Great, Roman triumvir and
general.

Port d'Espayne : see Espagne.

Pricus 117,20n. (= Pyrrhus).

Primes 19,5n.

Primipilus Centurio 56,13n.

Ravenne 144,13, 144,18 Ravenna.

Renate 33,1n.

Romanus 21,19 Roman.

Rome 1,1 etc.

Romeyns 4,1, Romains 4,7, Romayns 4,12, Romeins 4,15; etc.;
the Romans.

Romuli 42,6 (of) Romulus.

Ryn 4,7 the Rhine.

Salustius 7,12, Salustes 13,6 Sallust, Latin historian.

Sarasinz 124,8 the Saracens.

Sardine 144,18 Sardinia.

Scipio 113,3, Scipio de Aufrike 93,15, Afffrican Scipio 18,16

Scipio Africanus, Roman general.

Seint Espirit 39,12 the Holy Spirit.

Tebans 138,2 the Thebans.

Tessaile 31,19 Thessaly.

Tieys 94,6 the Teutons.

Trace 31,21 Thrace.

Trajan 3,6, 11,16, 33,3 the Emperor Trajan.

Tumans 22,7n.

Tybre 14,1 the Tiber.

Vaspasian 42,10 the Emperor Vespasian.

Vegece 1(Title), etc. Vegetius.

Vexate 33,1n.

Virgile 21,17, 151,18 Virgil.

Ynde 31,21, 118,1, 124,9 India.

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APPENDIX I

VEGETIUS : THE MEDIAEVAL FRENCH MANUSCRIPTS

- 1) The Fitzwilliam Vegetius; c.1272 : 1 MS. (including a fragment possibly dating from c.1254).

Add. MS. 1, Marlay Collection, Fitzwilliam Museum,
Cambridge.

- 2) Jean de Meung; 1284 : 19 MSS.

1. Bibl. Nat., f.fr. 1230
2. Bibl. Nat., f.fr. 1231
3. Bibl. Nat., f.fr. 1232
4. Bibl. Nat., f.fr. 2063
5. Bibl. Nat., f.fr. 12360
6. Bibl. Nat., f.fr. 19104
7. Berne, 280
8. Carpentras, 332 (old cat. 328)
9. Arsenal, 2551 (228 S.A.F.)
10. Arsenal, 2915 (226 S.A.F.)
11. Arsenal, 2916 (227 S.A.F.)
12. Vatican, Christ. 1628
13. Turin (i)¹⁾
14. Turin (ii)²⁾

1) cf. Pietro Vayra, Il museo storico della casa di Savoia nell'archivio di stato in Torino, Turin 1880, p.101.

2) Ibid., p.104, note 1.

15. Bodleian, 21723 (Douce, 149)
16. Brit. Mus., Sloane, 2430
17. Brit. Mus., Royal, 20.B.xv.
18. Brit. Mus., Royal, 20.B.xi.
19. Mus. Condé, 344

3) Jean Priorat; c.1290 : 1 MS.

Bibl. Nat., f.fr. 1604

4) Jean de Vignai; end of 13th century : 7 MSS.

1. Bibl. Nat., f.fr. 1229
2. Bibl. Roy. (Brussels), 11048
3. Brit. Mus., Royal, 17.E.v(ii).
4. Brit. Mus., Royal, 20.B.i.
5. Magdalen, Pepys, 1938
6. Cambridge U. L., EE.2.17
7. Gonville & Caius, 424

5) Anonymous; 1380 : 2 MSS.

1. Turin, Duc de Gênes, 188
2. Bibl. Roy. (Brussels), 11046

6) FRAGMENT : Rouen, 14th century : 1 MS.

Bibl. de Rouen, 997 (I,61)

7) EXTRACTS : Jean de Rovroy; mid-15th century : 4 MSS.

1. Bibl. Nat., 1234
2. Bibl. Nat., 1235
3. Arsenal, 2693
4. Brit. Mus., Add. MS. 12028

8) EXTRACTS : Lez Regles; 15th century : 1 MS.

Bibl. Nat., 1563

APPENDIX II

I append a list of Latin MSS of the De re militari which apparently were not known to Lang :

1. Brit. Mus., Add. MS. 21242
2. Brit. Mus., Add. MS. 38818
3. Lambeth Palace Library, MS. 752
4. Trinity College, Cambridge, MS. O.3.29
5. Peterhouse Library, MS. 75
6. Peterhouse Library, MS. 196
7. Bibl. de Tours, MS. 815
8. Univ. Bibl., Uppsala, MS. C.III

(The incipit of the latter shows that it corresponds most closely to Lang's V group of MSS.; [cf. Op. cit., Praefatio, p.xi.] 'Incipit liber vegetii renati uiri illustris epijthomatum institutorum rei familiaris (sic) ad theodosium imperatorem feliciter'.)

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